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Politburo Decision Addresses Agriculture

AU011201 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Nov 87 pp 1,2

["Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo: For a New Qualitative Stage in Developing Agriculture;" boldface passages as published]

[Text] The BCP and its Central Committee have always devoted great care and attention to the problems of agriculture at each stage of its development. The socialist restructuring and the intensive development of agriculture played a great role in the industrialization of our country. For more than 30 years the growth of agriculture and its integration with industry, realized as part of the party's April agrarian policy, has been making a significant contribution to our economy in everything related to satisfying the needs of the population and our participation in the international division of labor.

The road we have travelled, our original experience, and the successes of our agricultural-industrial production are well known and are discussed with interest in many countries.

These successes are a result of the selfless work of the agricultural workers, communists, allied agrarians, Komsomol members, scientists, and specialists, who under the leadership of the party committees and organizations, worked selflessly to overcome the difficulties and carry out the strategic course of party, aimed at intensifying agricultural production. Thanks to all this our socialist agriculture withstood the test of the exceptionally difficult natural-climatic conditions in recent years and preserved the potential for further, intensive, and dynamic development.

Simultaneously, the success level, the problems that have emerged, and some negative phenomena in agriculture force the conclusion that the previous expectations and approaches to the development of agriculture have already been exhausted and that it is now necessary to adopt a new model for our agriculture, which will lead it to a new qualitative stage.

The visions, ideas, and tactical approaches developed in the "Basic Premises of the Concept on the Further Construction of Socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria," adopted by the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum, represent the guiding principle for creatively implementing the party's general line and creating a new model for developing agriculture at the present stage. This is a fundamental requirement to make our agriculture organically join in the new processes of restructuring the economy, the technological renewal, and the comprehensive restructuring of our society.

On this basis, and in accordance with the new conditions, the necessary preconditions are to be created in order to provide a durable solution for some problems, weaknesses, and negative phenomena that have emerged in our agriculture.

A detailed analysis of the problems, the conclusions based on our results, the best achievements of our own practice, experience, and the experience of other countries confirmed the need to **advance to a new superintensive model for developing our agriculture,** which must be constructed on the basis of:

—**a new type of production organization, in which the agricultural brigade,** as a self-managing organization, **is the main unit;**

—**harmoniously combining the interests of the brigade collective, its individual members, and their families, in order to achieve a new attitude to the soil** and other objects of socialist property;

—**regulating mutual relations of the brigade and its units with other organs and self-managing organizations through economic contracts** and according to the requirements of stock-monetary relations;

—**creating conditions and preconditions for uniformity and a single direction of the interests of the agricultural brigade and the territorial community of the population;**

—**restructuring all units of the brigade** in agriculture on the principles of self-management, and removing the existing bureaucratic stratum;

—**restructuring the Agro-industrial Union as economic trusts** of the agricultural brigades and other self-managing organizations.

For the consistent implementation of these principles premises and requirements it is necessary to develop purposeful and creative activity on the part of the agricultural workers, the workers, the specialists and leaders, and the scientists in every collective and unit.

Taking this into consideration, **the BCP Central Committee Politburo approves the basic trends and tasks in implementing the new model. The party collectives and organizations, and the Communists in the state and economic organizations, labor collectives, territorial units, and public organizations are to be guided in their direct work by the new model, in accordance with their rights, responsibilities, and obligations.**

I. Concerning the Establishment and Functioning of the Brigade as the Core of the New Model of Agriculture

The establishment and functioning of the agricultural brigade as a self-managing organizational-production and socioeconomic unit is a key factor in implementing the new agricultural model.

1. It is necessary for the brigade, as the basic agricultural unit and commodity producer, to create such a work organization as will ensure the detailed solution of issues connected with the wide-ranging application of science and technology and increasing the public productivity of labor to the level of the leading world achievements.

The prototype of such brigades has already emerged in practice, and has been confirmed by the experience and activity of many production collectives in our country, especially in the area of grain-fodder production. They must become the pattern for the new model of agriculture.

Accordingly the brigades must:

—develop as commodity producers and managers of socialist property, assuming the functions, that are necessary for such management;

—assume the respective rights, responsibilities, and obligations related to satisfying the needs of the population and the national economy for agricultural products. This must be done on a contractual basis in accordance with the brigades' capacity and production specialization;

—freely form associations along the entire line of their work.

2. In accordance with the specific conditions and possibilities at the present stage, the following are to be accepted as the basic criteria and points of reference for the establishment and functioning of the agricultural brigades:

—the cultivated land of or stock bred by a single machine operator or stockbreeder directly engaged in agricultural production must be: in grain-fodder production—from 1,000 to 2,500 decares; in vegetable-growing—from 100 to 110 decares; in vine-growing—from 100 to 110 decares; in fruit-growing—from 40 to 50 decares; in dairy stockbreeding for milk—from 33 to 40 cows; and in sheep-breeding—from 130 to 150 sheep. On this basis a labor productivity is to be achieved, that is 1.5-2 times higher than at present;

—moving from the system of wages for work done, to the system of piecework wages in accordance with final results, and making wages depend directly on the increase in labor productivity;

—ensuring complete economic accountability and self-financing of the agricultural brigades and the trusts, unions, associations, joint enterprises, and so forth, established by them.

The basic requirements of every agricultural brigade is to produce specific top quality crops within the framework of crop-rotation, or raise stock, and ensure results in accordance with the leading world achievements.

3. **Piecework is to be applied as the basic form for calculating wages at the present stage at all levels and in all agricultural sub-branches and activities, preventing on this basis any possibility of wage-levelling.**

On the basis of economic contracts and piecework the agricultural brigades will:

—unite to efficiently implement joint tasks within the framework of the municipality: providing services with powerful agricultural equipment, activities related to the material-technical supply in the area of construction, and so forth;

—assign their interbrigade units and their members and families land, perennial plants, polyethylene hothouses, agricultural stock and equipment, agricultural buildings, machines, and so forth, which are to produce a certain production on a contractual basis and hand it over to the brigades;

—additionally attract all able-bodied people to participate in agricultural production on the basis of piecework.

Special attention is to be devoted to developing the stimuli and initiative of the piecework units in the brigades, and of families and individuals engaged in piecework. Some of the previous expectations and criteria related to the scale of concentration and specialization in certain agroindustrial activities must be corrected, whenever necessary, in accordance with the requirements of the piecework system.

4. In forming piecework groups of the agricultural brigades, the principle of volunteering and economic interest must be observed, and their work must be organized on the basis of a contract with the brigade leadership. The contract will determine the rights, obligations, and responsibilities of the brigade and the piecework groups.

By placing the brigade on the principle of piecework wages, an economic incentive to minimize the administrative apparatus will be created, while the labor collectives will determine by themselves what kind of apparatus they need, and what the expenditures related to its activity will be.

5. **In assigning socialist property, including land, to agricultural commodity producers, priority is to be given to those forms of managing this property that in the given conditions create the most powerful incentive within the labor collectives to develop it as uniform and indivisible property, and enrich it in accordance with the needs and interests of society as a whole.** Taking all this into consideration the contracts on assigning the socialist property must determine the functions, rights, and responsibilities of the brigades and their organs of self-management, the cooperatives, territorial communities, and the organs of the socialist state, and bind them on an economic basis.

The agricultural brigades must assign the piecework units land and other objects of socialist property for management within a time limit that is to be coordinated according to the nature of the production and the requirements of the crops being cultivated.

The agricultural brigades must directly organize the most efficient utilization of all the land in their territory, assuming the ensuing rights and **responsibilities for its protection, increasing soil fertility,** and reclaiming abandoned land on a contractual basis.

For this purpose the brigades and the agroindustrial units, together with the cooperatives, townships, and municipalities must organize the card-indexing and evaluation of abandoned land **and assign it for a continuous period to individual persons or households, which are willing to engage in agricultural production as their basic activity.**

With a view to making the most rational use ofdesolate and infertile land and restoring it is necessary for the competent organs of the government, with the cooperation of the National Agroindustrial Union Association, the Forest Economy and Timber Industry Association, and the Central Cooperative Union to develop and activate a comprehensive system of measures within a short period of time.

6. In order to implement the functions, rights, and responsibilities assigned to them the agricultural brigades may:

—establish economic trusts, associations, and unions with other brigades, cooperatives, banks, and economic and trade organizations, regardless of the territory where they are located and organization to which they belong;

—create joint enterprises with production activity also in the sphere of services, in order to ensure the year-around engagement and additional income for the working people in the villages;

—work out and ensure technological and market breakthroughs in domestic and international markets, and so forth.

The forming of the brigades and the determination of their production specialization and territorial characteristics are to be based on a detailed technical-economic analysis, which will guarantee the achievement of new criteria of efficiency. The forming of the brigades is to be done in an established and normatively documented order.

7. With a view to ensuring the uniform development of agricultural production and the necessary coordination of the forces and possibilities of the brigades in the territory of the municipalities, **the agro-industrial complexes must restructure themselves and be consolidated as economic units of the brigades and other production and servicing agricultural enterprises in the respective territory.**

In the future the agro-industrial complexes may carry out only those functions related to the scientific-technical servicing, investment process, market policy, efficient use of highly productive equipment, material-technical supplies, developing the social sphere, and so forth, that cannot be effectively assigned to the agricultural brigades, or efficiently implemented at the level of the agricultural brigades.

8. The National Agro-industrial Union Association must develop as an economic group and function as an organ of self-management at the national level of commodity producers in agriculture. Along with coordinating their efforts in the area of the scientific-technical progress, marketing investment and social policy, in cooperation with the competent governmental organs, the National Agroindustrial Union Association must work out a uniform strategy on developing the National Agro-industrial Complex and organize the implementation of this strategy on the basis of its members' common economic interest.

9. The Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry must conduct a national policy in agriculture, ensuring the necessary normative basis and implement its other functions as a competent organ of the Government engaged in developing the agroindustrial complex in accordance with the uniform state strategy for the planned development of the entire national economy.

10. The necessary restructuring is also to be implemented in the food industry with a view to finding the best conditions for cooperation and integration between the commodity producers, who produce and process agricultural products, and increasing the degree of processing of these products in accordance with modern requirements of satisfying the needs of the people.

As commodity producers, the enterprises of the food industry must have broad rights to create associations with the agricultural brigades, create joint productions with them and with the cooperatives in the settlements and municipalities, and participate as members with equal rights in the agroindustrial complexes and cooperative associations, and so forth. On this basis the processes of vertical integration between agriculture and the food industry must develop and strengthen.

For this purpose the necessary changes in dividing the functions among the enterprises and trusts in this sphere are to be made and, whenever necessary, the structure and composition of some of the existing trusts are to be changed.

The competent organs must propose soon a comprehensive concept on developing the food industry in the coming period.

II. Concerning the Creation of a New Economic and Social Climate for Developing Agriculture

The mutual relations between the commodity producers, in all their comprehensive activity, and all their scientific, service, and purchasing units, on the one hand, and the banks and planning organs, on the other, are to be implemented on an economic basis. In this context the economic mechanism of the brigade must be specifically defined, and all units of the brigade restructured.

1. The approach and mechanisms related to working out and organizing the implementation of the plan in agriculture must be made in such a way that the new division of the functions in this area between the organs of the socialist state, on the one hand, and the commodity producers and their collective organs and territorial structures, on the other, conforms with the goal of creating the necessary conditions, reserves, and incentives for most rationally satisfying:

—the needs of the population population of the municipalities for everything connected with its self-supply in agricultural products;

—the needs of the country for fresh and processed agricultural products;

—the needs for export, in accordance with our contractual obligations, in order to achieve new positions in the international division of labor.

2. In order to secure the balance of the national economy and export contracts at the national level, the agricultural commodity producers will continue to receive state orders for basic agricultural products in their natural form, to be delivered to the state, while:

—production for the fulfillment of state orders must be guaranteed by the order giver on a lasting normative basis by means of contracts, giving priority to the supply of production, stimulating production, and marketing;

—the mechanism of state orders will be used to create equal conditions for economic activity and a spirit of socialist competition among the various commodity producers, for increasing the production of agricultural products.

In order to satisfy the needs of the population in the townships and municipalities for agricultural products, the municipal councils may place orders with the commodity producers in their territory directly or through the agroindustrial complexes, doing so on a contractual basis.

3. The supply of the most important raw materials, balanced at the national level, other materials, fuels, energy, machines, and equipment for agricultural producers, must be guaranteed by the state plan, while conditions are gradually being created for reducing the scope of central supplies and broadly proceeding toward supply on a commercial basis.

The agricultural brigades must themselves choose their supplier, the manner of supply and marketing of their production, how services are rendered, and how technologies are developed and introduced and so forth. The brigade collective may freely decide the issues related to contracting and marketing the production that is produced outside the relevant contracts and state commissions, including through retail trade.

With a view to increasing the role and economic influence of the purchasing organizations and organizations processing the agricultural production on the efficiency and results of the reproduction process in agriculture, these organizations must pay the producers in advance a certain part of the value of the production contracted for.

The brigades, units, and families, working in the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions with infertile soil, must be given an opportunity to decide what and how much to produce.

4. **The economic levers**—prices, taxes, payments, the credit system, and the norms for applying them—**must be the main stimulator for developing the potential of the brigades,** cooperatives, and other commodity producers, and for revealing new possibilities for increasing labor productivity and marketing more and cheaper production of better quality.

—To consistently and gradually implement a transition toward a new pricing policy, which must evoke a turning point in the current approach to setting the prices of agricultural production.

—The formation of prices—from the agricultural end product to the raw materials, other materials, fuels, and machines—must correspond to the socially necessary expenditures in this area. The level of profitability is to be set on this basis and should ensure normal conditions for expanded reproduction of agricultural production. Our prices must be gradually brought into line with price levels on the world, and especially the socialist, markets.

—The introduction of the most urgent changes in the wholesale prices of the agricultural production, including the purchase price of agricultural products and the price increments, must begin in 1988. These changes will create the necessary economic conditions and guarantees for implementing the plan for the production of agricultural products for the needs of the country and for export.

The state will further regulate the prices of the most important products, those that represent the core of the balances, and which are of decisive importance for economic relations and for developing the agriculture. The producers may freely negotiate the prices of the rest of the agricultural products with their suppliers and consumers, in accordance with the terms of supply, the degree of processing, quality, and so forth.

5. In accordance with the principles of the new pricing policy to work out effective measures to improve the mechanism for subsidizing the production of agricultural products, while taking into account the population's need for objectively unprofitable products and products with low profitability, and increase the economic interest of labor collectives producing such products, and the necessity of temporarily increasing the expenditures of the commodity producers in solving the substantial tasks related to technological renewal and the requirements to conquer new export positions.

The basic principle of subsidizing commodity producers will be to give subsidies for products in their natural form that are actually produced, and not for making good resources that are lacking. 6. The system of insuring against and compensating for real agricultural losses must be improved, the principle for determining the basis of the insurance premiums changed, and the amount of compensation paid increased. A differentiated system for insuring agricultural crops voluntarily is to be applied.

7. A flexible tax system which takes account of the specific conditions of agriculture and creates strong incentives among commodity producers to increase their production must be created and applied. Commodity producers are to be placed under equal or similar economic conditions by the mechanism of taxation, regardless of the differences in the climatic-soil factors.

8. The bank credit through the leva is to become a decisive instrument in directing the economic initiative of agricultural commodity producers toward making the most efficient use of all means and resources, from scientific servicing to marketing.

The brigades and self-managing commodity producers must directly regulate their mutual relations with the specialized banks.

The competent agencies must immediately work out and introduce the most appropriate financing-credit mechanism for the early and comprehensive utilization of infertile and desolate land by the brigades and the cooperatives along the lines of the auxiliary plots and by developing the citizens' group and individual initiative.

9. The possibilities of postponing repayments of loans for capital investment and writing off loans given to the agricultural organizations must be evaluated, with a view to creating the necessary conditions for the technological renewal of these organizations and their self-support.

10. **In accordance with the decisions of the BCP Central Committee July 1987 Plenum, a new concept for the future development of the Bulgarian village is to be worked out and applied, with a view to:**

—turning the village into a full-fledged social community and creating conditions for migration from the city to the village;

—creating the necessary preconditions for equalizing the material and cultural conditions of those living in the villages and the cities;

—better harmonizing the wages of agricultural workers with the wages of those working in industry and other branches of material production.

11. The successful implementation of the new model for developing agriculture on the basis of brigade organization and piecework calls for a turning point in the work related to training, attracting, and keeping the youth in the villages, and especially in agriculture.

In this context:

—the working and living conditions in the Bulgarian village must decisively improve on the basis of the accelerated technological and technical renewal;

—the practice of giving additional and purposeful incentives to the youth cadres and specialists directly engaged in agricultural production must expand;

—the agricultural brigades and the agro-industrial complexes, with the help and cooperation of the municipal people's councils, must provide young workers and specialists with apartments, credits, interest-free loans for furnishing their apartments, transportation, and so forth;

—a comprehensive system for improving the training and use of executive cadres and specialists with high school and higher education, and improving the qualifications of all those engaged in agriculture must be proposed and approved. This system must be subordinated to the principles of self-management and contracts, by organically connecting it with the solution of questions related to improving the agricultural workers' working and living conditions;

—the material and financial resources of the municipalities and self-managing organizations must be combined to rapidly solve the economic and social problems of the respective territorial community, and for improve the agricultural workers' vital image and social status to a new level;

—measures related to improving complex services for those living in villages are to be worked out and implemented with the assistance of the competent organs: these measures must cover the areas of trade and the system of servicing the population, education, health services and sport, the satisfaction of intellectual needs, leisure, and communications in the individual settlements, townships, municipalities, and oblasts.

III. Concerning the Concentration of Forces in the Priority Solution of Some Urgent Problems of Agricultural Production

1. **The accelerated application of the new model and the quick advance of our agriculture to a new qualitative level require the active participation of our entire economy in solving some substantial problems in this branch.**

For this purpose a principled new approach is being applied to combine the efforts and potentials of the commodity producers and their trusts and associations, the new territorial organs, and government organs.

2. **Irrigated agriculture must develop as the basic factor of guaranteeing the stable development of agricultural production.**

For this purpose it is necessary:

To comprehensively evaluate the decisions which have been adopted so far, and the work in this direction, and to develop a comprehensive strategy and an efficient mechanism for the accelerated solution of the problems through the end of this 5-year plan period and the next period, and to turn irrigated agriculture into the joint cause of the state and the commodity producers.

To develop coordinated and purposeful work at all levels for quickly increasing the amount of irrigated land and ensuring the necessary irrigation equipment, and to pay special attention to applying progressive technologies in this direction; to create specialized construction capacities and equip them with highly productive equipment for hydromeliorative construction, and introducing electronics to the processes of water distribution.

To move to the broad and practical implementation of the ideas and studies related to utilizing the rivers and the other sources of water in the territory of the country, and create conditions of activating 500,000 decares irrigated land by the end of the Ninth 5-Year Plan period.

The state must ensure the construction of large dams, cascades, major canals, powerful pumping stations, and other major hydromeliorative installations, while the commodity producers must assume the construction and maintenance of the distributing internal canals and the equipment on the respective territory.

The normative basis must create an efficient system of connecting the increase of the utilized irrigated plots with the economic results of the commodity producers' activity, by developing and introducing an appropriate mechanism.

3. **To conduct the necessary changes to balance developments on the national level and guarantee the resource solution of the urgent tasks related to the technological renewal of the agricultural production.**

Capital investments in this area must be planned and ensured in accordance with the requirements for the new growth and place of agriculture in the national economic complex.

To introduce substantial improvements in providing the commodity producers with agricultural equipment, highly productive machines and stock, transportation means, and so forth, both by importing them and producing them in Bulgaria already by the end of the current 5-year plan period. To apply a flexible policy in solving the urgent need for small equipment and instruments for use on brigades, cooperatives, and auxiliary and private plots, through exchange operations and by their own specialized production.

The competent state and economic organizations must develop a new concept and program for the development of our agricultural machine building and decisively increase its share in the technical re-equipment of agriculture, increasing the quality of machines produced in Bulgaria, and decreasing their price.

Priority is to be given to providing credit for hydromeliorative construction, the creation of new lasting crops, supplying new and highly efficient equipment, and so forth, by introducing strict banking control for most efficiently directing and utilizing these means.

To adopt strict economic and other measures for the regular production of the necessary chemical fertilizers and chemicals, improving their quality in accordance with **increasing the agrobiological requirements** and norms, and preventing the harmful consequences of their incorrect use.

The competent state and economic organs and organizations must take special measures to implement effective control to prevent negative effects from the use of chemical substances, as well as protecting the soil and increasing its fertility.

4. **The restructuring of the agricultural science must be organized and conducted so that along with the scientific studies of the problems, it makes a real contribution to the technological renewal of production and the growth of the agricultural production's scientific consumption and profitability.**

To destroy and remove all barriers and departmental restrictions to direct relations between the scientific and practical application units and commodity producers. The mechanism and organization of scientific servicing must be brought in line with the brigade organization of production, by asserting the principle of piecework wages for the results of the scientific product in the practical application units.

Under the leadership of the Agricultural Academy to activate and perfect cooperation with affiliated scientific departmental institutes of the USSR and the other socialist countries by establishing joint scientific collectives and laboratories, exchanging specialists, and transferring new technologies and technological solutions. The introduction of chemistry and biology into agriculture will develop in the coming years as a chief trend in intensifying and increasing the efficiency of agriculture, in order to preserve soil fertility and increase the results per unit of production resources, to improve the mineral nourishment of the soil through the production and application of fertilizers with improved user properties and of preparations not harmful to animals and people, as well as to find a radical solution to the protein problem.

The biotechnological industry will be directed toward the application and production of bioregulators, growth stimulators, and biological agents for plant protection, preventative immunization against disease, application of tissue culture developments, and other fields where original achievements of high standards are emerging, providing a basis for our national specialization and efficient participation in international technological exchange.

On this basis the biological potential of varieties and hybrids for improving the breed and productivity of animals will be fully utilized and quickly updated, and highly productive resource-saving technologies will be widely applied.

6. Automation of processes will be mainly developed on the basis of a synthesis of microelectronics with plant-growing and animal-breeding technologies. Automation, microprocessor modules, and control systems for the operation of soil-cultivation and plowing and harvesting equipment, as well as of irrigation installations, will be developed and applied at accelerated rates. This also applies to the processes of preparing animal feed, feeding animals, and creating the microclimate [mikroklimat] in farms; to the preparation, transportation, and preservation of agricultural products; and to the organizational-economic processes in agricultural enterprises, brigades, and other units.

On this basis we will implement a gradual transition to the establishment of integrated automation systems for the control of the reproduction processes.

IV. Concerning the Work of Party Organs and Organizations.

The BCP, since its its earliest days, has been a champion of progressive ideas in agriculture and a source of inspiration for the implementation of these ideas in our country. Several generations of party cadres have already provided, and are providing their own example, contribution, and willpower to the present-day April dimensions and successes of our large-scale agroindustrial production.

Today again, in the spirit of its valuable traditions and experience, in accordance with the new realities and tasks, and as a guiding and leading force in society, the BCP is called upon to set the tone for the profound changes and to lead the struggle for a qualitatively new standard in our agriculture.

The chief requirement for the party organs and organizations at the present stage of development is to assume the political leadership in the process of constructing the new agricultural model.

It is necessary for all people to be well acquainted with the new postulates in this respect, for these new postulates to reach the hearts and minds of people, and for these postulates to the people's own conviction, their civil and personal cause.

The center of party-political work lies precisely in the brigades, in the high-productivity piecework teams, the other units, the township and the municipality—all those places where people live and work.

It is particularly important to overcome the previous bureaucratic methods, subjectivism, and gross interference in the work of the brigades and their leaderships, as well as in the work of the other self-managing organs, that lead to distortions in the organization of production and a lessening of the effect of the forthcoming changes.

The party committees and organizations must deal with the chief tasks, in order to establish the necessary economic, political, and ideological atmosphere in the brigade collectives, to apply a new type of control, and to become a powerful accelerator for restructuring. Work with the Komsomol and youths is to be conducted from these standpoints, and the trade unions and Fatherland Front are to be granted wide opportunities for action, in accordance with their rights and responsibilities and in the conditions of self-management of the labor collectives and territorial communities.

The Komsomol organizations, under the leadership of the party committees, will engage in extensive, organizational and political work with the purpose of attracting Komsomol groups from executive and leading cadres into agriculture.

From this standpoints in fraternal cooperation with our fellow-workers and comrades from the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, with the energetic and creative efforts of the people's millions, we can and must implement the requirement of our time—to advance agriculture to a qualitatively new stage. The BCP Central Committee Politburo expresses its conviction that such a model and approach are precisely what are now needed for the restructuring of agriculture in our country. We are convinced that this will be approved and supported by the cadres and by the agricultural workers, by the Communists and united agrarians, and by all those who are able, know how to, and have the rights and obligations to forge their own future in this cause, in order to make agriculture more fruitful and life in the rural areas more prosperous, more pleasant, and more attractive.

Dzhurov Speaks at Army BCP Conference

AU021801 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 30 Nov 87 p 2

[Report by Colonel Georgi Atanasov and Major Lyubomir Denov on BCP conference in unnamed army unit "where Officer Petko Milushev Serves as Senior Political Worker"; no place and date of conference given]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted].

The party conference was attended by General of the Army Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense; by Colonel General Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Social and National Security Department; by Colonel General Atanas Semerdzhiev, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army General Staff and first deputy minister of defense; by Colonel General Khristo Dobrev, first deputy minister of national defense; and by Colonel Mitko Mitkov, chief of the People's Army Main Political Administration.

Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces to the Bulgarian People's Army, was also among those present at the conference. [passage omitted]

Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of national defense, delivered a detailed statement at the conference. After dealing with the restructuring process in our country, in general, he dwelled on restructuring problems within the People's Army. All questions pertaining to restructuring are centered on the style and methods of work of the commanding staff and of the military cadres in all units, Army General Dobri Dzhurov pointed out.

As a result, the main task of commanders and political organs at all levels at this stage of the restructuring process is to further intensify the human factor with basic attention to administrative activities, and to enhance the role of the one-man commander as the main factor in promoting the training and combat readiness of the troops to a qualitatively new level.

The Army, as a specific social organism, is organized in a peculiar manner, according to which army life directly depends upon the commander's skill to guide and lead, as well as to coordinate the efforts of all elements—commanders, staffs, deputy commanders on political affairs, Komsomol, and trade union leaderships and organizations included. The accomplishment of innovative processes in the respective units depends upon this. The main, new duty in every one-man commander's activity is that he should be permanently aware of his great responsibility toward the party and people, that he should work on the improvement of his professional training, so that he may be a competent and businesslike commander, so that he may constantly perfect his skill in efficiently guiding his subordinates in the atmosphere of increased democracy and glasnost.

Working amid an atmosphere of increased democracy, most importantly means to search for and find the most appropriate methods, forms, and means of mobilizing the Army personnel for their active participation in the solution of the problems facing the sub-units.

It is necessary to develop sensible initiatives, particularly regarding the initiatives of younger commanders. It is necessary to manifest confidence and support for them, combining this with strict precision.

Glasnost, above all, requires the establishment of an atmosphere of free discussion, businesslike exchange of opinions, views, and ideas.

In order to find the most correct methods of accomplishing the restructuring process we are talking about, every commander should thoroughly, in a self-critical spirit, review and reevaluate his work from the perspective of view of military regulations, instructions, and orders.

The commander must critically evaluate the work of his subordinates. He must find and reveal all shortcomings and unresolved problems, pertaining to the style and methods of work.

Second, it is necessary for every collective, every leading, and executive unit to evaluate the existing opportunities of work. Particular attention should be devoted in this context to the available reserves, and it is necessary to map out measures for their full utilization. The existing reserves should be sought, above all, in the areas connected with achievements in scientific-technical progress, in the opportunities of qualitatively improving the training process, which leads to the achievement of good and excellent results only, in improving military discipline and military rules, as well as in solving the social problems of military personnel, and so forth.

Third, we must resolutely change the attitude of senior units to problems that are being resolved in the sub-units. These problems should be treated as personal questions concerning the sub-units, and on this basis, a drastic change should take place in the work of the sub-units for the most expedient solution of such problems. It is necessary that, as regards control activities, assistance should be emphasized.

The main thing that should now characterize control activities, is the necessity of exercising them in the process of implementing tasks by the respective detachment, and to take care that no one should assume the functions of the sub-unit commander.

Fourth, it is of exceptional importance for commanders of all ranks to increase their personal discipline today, as well as the discipline of their subordinate units. This should be considered a crucial problem in implementing the restructuring process within the Army.

The time in which we live urgently requires that we should boldly free ourselves of our old vices, such as verbosity, the habit of holding large and noisy meetings, running in place, and the accumulation of paper-work.

We should become clearly aware of the fact that the path toward restructuring is characterized by a businesslike approach and efficient solution of problems, that we must train a new type of commander—competent, capable of independent work and creative thought, ready to assume responsibilities and risks, capable of mobilizing people, and of developing their creative energies.

Army General Dobri Dzhurov further dealt with the role of primary party organizations, with the vanguard role of the communists. He closed his statement with the following sentence: "What we need now is a businesslike approach, time and again, a businesslike approach."

The defense minister's speech was followed with great attention by the delegates at the conference.

Ovcharov Details Draft Plans, Budget

AU031609 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
2 Dec 87 pp 1, 2

["Own information" report: "Qualitatively New Growth With a Strong Social Content"]

[Excerpts] Yesterday [1 December] an expanded session of the Bureau of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions discussed the draft of the Uniform Plan for Bulgaria's Scientific, Technical and Socioeconomic Development in 1988. The chairmen of the federations of the trade union organizations and trade union central councils, the authorized representatives of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council in the oblasts, and chiefs of departments of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council also took part in the session, which was chaired by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions. Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, gave an extensive briefing on the basic indices of the draft plan and budget.

First and foremost, he stressed that, despite the unfavorable weather conditions during the year and other objective reasons, good results are expected in the fulfillment of the 1987 plan: The national income will rise by 5.1 percent, and social labor productivity by 5.2 percent, which provide a good foundation for constructing a realistic plan for next year, the third of the 5-year-plan period. Next year a considerable increase in the national income and social labor productivity is envisaged, providing evidence of the stable and dynamic development of the Bulgarian national economy. [passage omitted]

Comrade Ovcharov stressed that the most characteristic feature of the draft plan is its emphasis on resolving the tasks in the social field, which is made possible due to the increase planned in the national income. It is planned to stabilize and expand the Bulgarian market by means of a higher growth of the commodity fund as compared to the real growth of the population's income. A new system is to be introduced for fixing wages, in conformity with the principles of self-management, and wage levels will be determined by the labor collectives in accordance with each person's real contribution. Wage levelling is to be abolished, and the relationship between the labor remuneration of workers and specialists is to be improved. The adjustment of pensions is also envisaged.

A measure planned in the same area is the imposition of a stable barrier against arbitrary increases in prices, a tendency that has recently become apparent in certain goods producer organizations. It is planned to define two classes of commodities, ordinary and luxury, and to determine the enterprises that are entitled to produce luxury goods, also defining the percentage of luxury goods in their total production. These goods will have to meet specific conditions, for which a certificate will be issued. These luxury goods will also be sold in certain shops. [passage omitted] In conclusion, Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, stated that the Bulgarian trade unions adopt the 1988 draft plan and budget in toto, and will actively participate in fulfilling the plan, because the plan is a realistic one, with new qualitative characteristics and with a clear, precise formulation and position. A plan is proposed that ensures the practical implementation of the strategic course approved by the 13th BCP Congress and the July and November plenums of the BCP Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Weaknesses in Self-Sufficiency Discussed

AU032010 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1830 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] The Council of Ministers has discussed the work of the Oblast and Municipal People's Councils, agro-industrial complexes, brigades, and other agricultural organizations, regarding the self-sufficiency of the population of the townships and the municipalities in supplying themselves with vegetables, fruit, and animal products. It was noted with concern that in many municipalities serious weaknesses have been allowed in implementing this important task. The obligation to sow and plant the envisaged plots with autumn-winter vegetables by 15 November, and to make contracts with the producers, to supply the envisaged quantities to satisfy the needs of the population and the national balances, has not been fulfilled. Contracting the purchase of autumn-fall vegetables by the purchasing organizations is being delayed, even after new and incentive prices have been set. Except for the contract to supply spinach, no other contracts have been concluded about other vegetables. The work related to contracting the supply of agricultural produce from private producers has been underestimated. The tendency to decrease the number of live stock continues. This creates difficulties in some regions in all aspects of the supply of meat and meat products.

The Council of Ministers warns the state and economic organizations and organs in the territorial units that, if the failure to implement the plans for planting the envisaged plots and producing the agricultural products to be received within the framework of self-sufficiency is not quickly overcome, serious disturbances will be created in supplying the population with autumn-winter vegetables, meat, meat products, and milk and dairy products, as well as in ensuring the necessary resources for the national balances.

The main responsibility for this situation, and for the difficulties which will emerge, lies with the respective Executive Committees of the Oblast, Municipal, and Township People's Councils, the leaderships of the agroindustrial complexes, and the brigades in the respective regions. Despite the fact that they are directly responsible to the population, they do not recognize and implement their obligations related to this exceptionally important issue. It is necessary to immediately adopt measures to increase the production of autumn-winter vegetables and agricultural produce, and satisfy the population's needs in this area.

USSR Foreign Ministry Visits, Holds Talks

AU021727 Sofia BTA in English
1619 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—The Foreign Ministries of Bulgaria and the USSR held consultations here from 30 November through 2 December on a wide range of issues of Bulgaro-Soviet relations and of bilateral and multilateral relations in the Balkans.

The Soviet side was headed by Mr B.I. Poklad and the Bulgarian by Mr V. Velchev and Mr L. Shopov, heads of departments at the two ministries.

Mr B.I. Poklad was received by Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and minister of foreign affairs, and by Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP.

Hungary's Berecz Visits, Meets Officials

LD022342 Budapest MTI in English
2052 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (MTI)—Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee, arrived in Sofia for a working visit Wednesday evening. He is meeting an invitation from the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Janos Berecz was met at the airport by Yordan Yotov, member of the Political Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and secretary of the Central Committee, and Stoyan Mikhailov, secretary of the Central Committee, and other Bulgarian Officials. Also present was Gyula Gyovai, Hungarian Ambassador to Bulgaria.

GDR's Tisch, Trade Delegation Pay Visit

Met by Dyulgerov

AU031619 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian
2 Dec 87 pp 1, 2

[Text] Yesterday [1 December] an FDGB delegation led by Harry Tisch, the chairman of its central leadership and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, arrived in Sofia from the GDR. At Sofia Airport the delegation was welcomed by Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Central Council Bulgarian Trade Unions [CCBTU]. Egon Rommel, the GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, was also present.

In the Boyana trade union house in Sofia talks began between the CCBTU delegation lead by its chairman, Petur Dyulgerov, and the FDGB delegation led by its chairman Harry Tisch. The two sides stressed the exceptional importance of the meeting that took place in Sofia recently between Comrades Todor Zhivkov and Erich Honecker, and of the accords reached by them on developing and deepening the mutually beneficial fraternal cooperation between our two peoples. Special attention was given to the contribution that the two countries' trade unions are making to successfully implement the Program for Expanding and Deepening Economic, Technical, and Scientific Cooperation Between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the GDR Until the Year 2000. It was confirmed that the links between the Bulgarian trade unions and the FDGB are developing dynamically, and that there is a clear mutual desire to expand and deepen them.

The guests were briefed on restructuring now under way in Bulgaria in all spheres of life, in fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the July and

November plenums of the BCP Central Committee. A characteristic feature of the situation in the country is the creative search for new approaches and solutions for the further construction of socialism, stressed the leader of the Bulgarian delegation. We have entered into a restructuring that in its nature, scale, and depth is consistent with strategic course outlined at the BCP Congress for qualitatively new growth in all spheres of society. An outline was given of the responsible tasks that the Bulgarian trade unions now face in connection with establishing self-management and further expanding socialist democracy. It was stressed that these new requirements are leading to changes in a strongly pronounced direction, namely in increasing the role of the worker's mass organization. The Bulgarian trade unions have to become a school of self-management with the broadest possible social base.

In his exposition, Comrade Petur Dyulgerov also emphasized the important demands relating to our trade unions' work that are posed by the need to speedily introduce the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution. The Bulgarian trade unions' important role in implementing the new approach in our country's social policy was also stressed.

The leader of the FDGB delegation gave a briefing on the main tasks facing the GDR workers and people at present regarding the further construction of socialist society in the GDR. He emphasized the unity in economic and social policies, based on dynamic, consistent economic development. A crucial requirement for successful economic growth was the pronounced need to broadly introduce the achievements of scientific and technical progress, which is a main condition for increasing labor productivity.

Harry Tisch also dealt in detail with the GDR trade unions' role in socialist construction and in encouraging the broad participation of working people in all fields of social life.

Secretaries of the CCBTU also took part in the talks on the Bulgarian side.

Egon Rommel, the GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bulgaria, also attended the talks.

Protocol Signed

LD031934 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1526 GMT 3 Dec

[Text] Sofia, 3 Dec (ADN)—The work of trade unions in the GDR and Bulgaria, and the expansion of cooperation between the two countries' labor collectives were at the center of an exchange of views held today between delegations from the two trade union associations in Sofia.

They described the struggle to preserve peace as the foremost task of their international activity. The two delegations underlined support for the USSR'S detente and disarmament initiatives, and welcomed the imminent conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on a global elimination of medium-range missiles. At the same time they noted the great importance of the proposals for the creation of nuclear- and chemical-weapons-free zones for the strengthening of security on the European continent.

The chairmen of the two trade union organizations, Harry Tisch, member of the SED Politburo, and Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Politburo, signed a protocol for the further development of trade union relations. It provides, among other things, for the extension of the exchange of young workers and innovators, and the promotion of enterprise holiday exchanges. Trade union relations between two countries' bezirkes [areas] and regions are to be further developed, and aimed mainly at questions of cooperation in solving olcal problems such as shiftwork, housing questions, improvements for working women and mothers.

Final Talks Held

AU031925 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Excerpt] The visit to Bulgaria of the FDGB delegation led by Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council and member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, ended. Final talks were held today with the delegation of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council, led by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Bulgarian Trade Unions Central Council and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo. [passage omitted]

Media, Public Focus on Polish Referendum

AU031540 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 87 p 4

[Article by Boris Dankov, RABOTNICHESKO DELO correspondent in Warsaw: "Results of the Referendum"]

[Text] The results of the recent referendum held in Polandon the program proposed by the Sejm for radical changes in the country's economic and political life are the focus of public attention and media interest in Poland.

The final results of the referendum have already been published. Over 67 percent of the Polish citizens entitled to vote participated in it. Out of the total number of those entitled to vote, 44.28 percent answered "yes" to the first question concerning the proposed reforms and 44.28 voted in favor of the second question.

According to the law on public consultations and referendums adopted by the Polish Sejm, 50 percent plus 1 percent of the voters are required to vote "yes" if the program for radical changes in the economic sector and for the intensification of socialist democracy is to be approved. Under the circumstances, the final word now belongs to the Sejm, which will have to take the voters' opinion into consideration and adopt a decision on the program proposed by the government.

Should the results be considered as "a failure" of the referendum, as the Western propaganda centers are trying to insinuate? It is a well-known fact that Polish citizens did not vote in favor of, or against the reform itself, but about the schedules and the rate of its implementation. The fact is that over 11 million voters approved the difficult and unpopular version which envisages drastic measures for the improvement of the economic situation, including considerable price increases and the restructuring of the entire system which determines the functioning of national economy. This means that the basic trends of the changes submitted in the proposals enjoy considerable public support. Naturally, we must understand that in view of such difficult and complicated problems involving the acceptance of privations and material restrictions imposed on society, we cannot rely on obtaining an absolute majority.

On the other hand, the fact that more than two thirds of the Polish voters participated in the referendum confirms the irrefutable readiness of the Polish working people to get involved and to participate in solving the country's problems, disregarding the appeals to boycot and ignore the referendum which the subversive centers stubbornly conveyed to them over radio waves.

Time will tell which opinion will prevail in the search for the best method for a thorough economic restructuring and innovation of the country, in the search for the best solution in accordance with the interests of the whole Polish society. Not only the results of the referendum, but hundreds of proposals and suggestions of the citizens submitted at discussions on the program for the accelerated implementation of the second stage of the reforms and on the projects mapped out for the further development and intensification of socialist democracy will be arguments in favor of the best method.

As a matter of fact, socialist democracy is the main lesson of the recent referendum in Poland. The working people expressed their opinions through this referendum on the vitally important problems of the country, they contributed to finding the difficult, but necessary solution for its future. This was an example of socialist people's government which the enemies of socialism and their assistants in the West are vainly trying to slander with malicious speculations.

Consultations With CSSR Foreign Ministry Held

AU031739 Sofia BTA in English 1713 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—The Ministries of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia held consultations between December 1 and 3 this year here on a wide range of questions concerning the two countries' relations with the sub-Saharan countries and on general political and economic problems of Africa.

Minister for Northern Greece Visits

AU032009 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Georgi Yordanov, minister of culture, science and education, visiting here is Mr Stilianos Papathemelis, minister for Northern Greece, who is accompanied by senior officials of his ministry.

Today the two ministers discussed a wide range of questions concerning the further expansion and promotion of cooperation between the two friendly countries. It was pointed out that Bulgaro-Greek relations can be held up as a model of good-neighborliness and cooperation. An emphasis was laid on the importance of the Declaration of Friendship, Good-Neighborliness and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and Greece, signed in 1986, which opens up great opportunities for interaction in all fields.

The sides brought into prominence the fruitful cultural cooperation between Bulgaria and Northern Greece, which is steadily being diversified with new forms.

Today Mr Stilianos Papathemelis called on His Holiness Maksim, Patriarch of Bulgaria.

They share the opinion that the friendship between the Bulgarian and the Greek peoples is making steady progress.

Officials Discuss Arrest of Turkish Leftists

AU021945 Sofia BTA in English 1833 GMT 2 Dec 87

["Declaration in Defence of Kutlu and Sargin"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 2 (BTA)—It was with concern and indignation that the Bulgarian public received the news that the Turkish authorities intend to put on trial the groundlessly arrested Haydar Kutlu, secretary general of the CC of the Turkish Communist Party, and Dr Nihat Sargin, chief secretary of the Workers' Party of Turkey, their only "guilt" being their leftist beliefs and struggle for peace and their return to Turkey after a 7-year exile abroad in order to assist the democratization of the regime in Turkey announced by the government, the declaration handed in for publication by the Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa, reads. How else could we view the trial under preparation against these loyal sons of the Turkish people too if not as an act of brutality and inhumanity. Despite the protests of the majority of governments, parties and organizations of all parts of the world and even of Turkey's allies in NATO and the European Parliament and the European Economic Community, the Turkish authorities refuse to release Mr Haybar Kutlu and Dr Nihat Sargin.

The facts show, the declaration points out, that in spite of the assurances of the Turkish authorities, there is no democracy in that country and the offensive of the Turkish reaction against the democratic movement continuies. The civil war in the Eastern regions of Turkey against the 12-million Kurdish population, subjected to genocide in our times, is actually continuing also as well.

On behalf of the Bulgarian public the Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa categorically protests against the brutal arbitrary acts of the Turkish authorities against Mr Haybar Kutlu and Dr Nihat Sargin and insists on their immediate release.

Ivanov Receives Contadora Group Ambassadors

AU031909 Sofia BTA in English 1751 GMT 3 Dec 87

["United on the Road of Peace"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, December 3 (BTA)—Today Mr Mariy Ivanov, first deputy minister of foreign affairs, received the ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Mexico, Venezuela, Brazil, and Colombia and the charges d'affaires of Argentina, Peru and Uruguay. On behalf of their governments, the diplomats delivered the text of the declaration which the presidents of the eight Latin American countries, members of the Contadora Group and of the Lima Support Group, adopted at their summit meeting in Mexico on 29 November this year.

The Bulgarian side highly commended the role of the eight countries for the strengthening of international peace and confidence, for a peaceful settlement of the problems in Central America. Bulgaria reiterated her belief that the regional conflicts can only be settled by peaceful negotiations and that confidence and security in international relations should be built on the basis of respect for the sovereign right of every people to determine its destiny freely and without outside interference, to control its natural resources and to participate on an equal and fair footing in the international division of labor. The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Reagan Interview, Upcoming Summit Viewed

LD040950 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 4 Dec 87

[Text] As could have been expected, regardless of the significance of the awaited Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, the U.S. right wing has been increasing pressure on the public at home, attacking the Soviet Union and the planned agreements. Anti-Soviet statements and appeals, which are to cast doubts on the credibility of the Soviet Union to guarantee the observance of any international agreements, are multiplying. The White House, which has sent a document to congress in which it has attempted to prove that the Soviet Union has allegedly not been observing provisions contained in the ABM Treaty, has contributed to this to the fullest extent. Apparently under the pressure of these right-wing representatives, who are now acting fully from the position of pre-election campaigns, Secretary of State Shultz, and the President himself, have allowed themselves to be induced to make remarks in a similar vein. Vladimir Solecky, our resident New York correspondent, has sent us the following dispatch on he content of President Reagan's television interview last night.

[Begin Solecky recording] In an effort to drown the impact made by Mikhail Gorbachev's interview for NBC last Monday, the White House requested three main American television companies and the Cable News Network to give the President half an hour of prime time for an interview on current issues. Some 80 percent of the interview concerned Soviet-U.S. agreements on nuclear arms limitation and Soviet-U.S. relations in general. Since all four interviewers mostly proceeded in forming their questions from existing anti-Soviet stereotypes and from the positions occupied by the U.S. rightwing, President Reagan acted here as a defender of the agreement on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles. He assured the American public that he had been thorough in seeing to it that reliable measures to verify its observance were built in. He also stated that during his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev, the President would be trying to convince him of the importance Americans attach to the human rights problem. He did not fail to reiterate his own well known stands and views on tackling the flash points of regional conflicts, in particular in Afghanistan, because developments in Central America in the past few months have far too clearly exposed his policy of military intervention.

Let us add however that many people around the President have begun to voice doubts about these attacks from the right. Among them is Max Kampelman, the head of the U.S. delegation at the Geneva talks, who prepared the text of the treaty on the elimination of medium- and short-range missiles. He said that the accusations against the Soviet Union should neither threaten the course of the summit meeting nor the future course of arms control. Foreign observers stress that what is now going on in the United States is a repetition of the very same thing that happened during the Reykjavik summit. The more realistically thinking political representatives of the United States speak a more sombre language. [end recording]

Fojtik Article on GOSR

AU012043 Prague NOVA MYSL No.11 in Czech and Slovak, Signed to Press 1 Oct 87 pp 4-18

[Article by Dr Jan Fojtik, candidate of sciences, candidate member of CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, and Central Committee secretary: "Taking the Path of Great October Toward the Further Development of Socialism, or a Happy Future in Peace"]

[Excerpts] The year 1987 is the year of a historical jubilee: the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Under the inspiring influence of the Leninist CPSU we are now beginning the revolutionary restructuring of our society; it is therefore particularly important to ponder the topical nature of the legacy left to us by Great October and to formulate with the utmost precision our answer to questions about its viability and its significance for today, for our present work, for the developments in the world and in our own society.

This answer should conform neither to the general cliches covering up the disturbing problems of today, nor to the time-serving demands of the so-called new thinking, which wants to replace one kind of half-truth with another and which, for some people, is nothing but the outdated thinking of pre-revolutionary periods, of those "good old times" and their value system which (according to them) should determine the norms and criteria of our way of life for all time. But the question we have asked requires a totally different answer— one which should encourage us to deeply analyze the results of our activities to date, honestly, and self-critically, including all successes and shortcomings; and to grasp what these successes are based on, and also what frequently invalidates and frustrates this work. The analysis should also lead to yet more resolute efforts to consolidate all that is healthy, all that is aiding the development of socialism; it should lead to a principled course in accomplishing the strategic tasks of restructuring, to an uncompromising fight against everything threatening the prospects of socialism. [passage omitted]

Next year we will be commemorating the 40th anniversary of Victorious February, which definitely placed Czechoslovakia—through the sovereign will of its people—among the countries which have taken the road initiated by Great October, the road of the gradual transition of all peoples to a society of liberated labor and peace.

Victorious February also redeemed the historical wrong perpetrated against our people by those who had shamelessly swindled us in the revolutionary atmosphere of 1920 influenced by the Great October. Although the

Czechoslovak Republic emerged from the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, which had collapsed under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and although the people were clamoring for the new state to be a socialist state, the bourgeoisie, aided by reformist social democratic leaders, succeeded in suppressing the will of the people; and 3 decades of difficult struggles and the bitter experience of Munich and the occupation were needed for the people's truth to prevail, to quote Klement Gottwald.

Already 4 decades have passed since February, which had fixed the features of postwar Czechoslovakia and its place in further developments and in the process of changes, which have shaped the new political map of the world. Certain people, obviously echoing views spread by the West, regard those times as though they were a coincidence, according to them a "tragic" coincidence, which landed our country (which surely belonged to the sphere of Western spiritual culture since time immemorial) suddenly and "out of the blue" in the new, socialist community through some inadvertency (perhaps one resulting from "the Munich complex of President Doctor Benes," or to the postwar "liberation euphoria" and "illusions about the USSR's role"). These people naturally present the step taken at the time as a "forcible interruption" of the historical continuity, which until then had been the basis of our peoples' life.

This concept actually became part of the system of arguments used by the anticommunist centers; it corresponds to all attacks on the CPCZ as "Moscow's stooge and puppet." And if this concept regards February 1948 as a gross abuse of our peoples' sovereignty, a "violation" of our peoples, which tied them to the "Soviet empire," then the so-called revival process of 1968, in which the rightwing opportunists frustrated the possibility of real revival and a real consolidation of socialism (proclaimed in the conclusions of the CPCZ Central Committee's January session), was intended to open the gates for a kind of "anti-February," for the desired "redemption" of the "tragic error" which had allegedly occurred in our country because of the development of events in 1945-48.

The various assurances made by rightwing opportunists in order to camouflage their inefficiency and helplessness, or else their true intentions (revealed only by later developments), did nothing to change this. The same can be said of the frank confessions they made after living for some time as emigres, when they (at least some of them) were naturally forced to explain the political and ideological metamorphoses, which had turned these famous "dogmatics of Stalinism" into passionate fighters against communism. [passage omitted]

We must not be confused by the fact that our class enemies are making use of restructuring in the Soviet Union and in other countries of our community, trying to find in it arguments for their own conclusions. It is exactly because of our emphasis on the revolutionary nature of restructuring and our refusal to evade the criticism of shortcomings that they see their chance to cast doubts on the principles on which our policy is based (it must also be said that they are interested in the shortcomings in our practical life only to this extent, and no more). That is why they not only welcome all excessive criticism and every expression of nihilism with regard to socialism, its past, and its present, but also turn them into an integral part of their anticommunist propaganda. This is not all, either. Everything indicates that they are staking everything on the ideological chaos and uncertainty, which they link with restructuring and with the need to reassess a number of issues. They mostly approach restructuring as a belated confession that "communism has failed"; they reduce its purpose to mere liberalization, intended to bring the socialist countries somewhat closer to the model of life in a capitalist society. The overwhelming majority of "analysts of restructuring," who have suddenly cropped up in the West like mushrooms after a rain, are naturally rather skeptical in this respect—until such a "rapprochement" takes place, they recommend, one should remain on the alert, particularly toward the USSR. According to them, "restructuring" can be proved only by beginning to dismantle socialism.

This attitude toward restructuring also determines the interest felt by our class enemies for the history of the emergence and shaping of socialism.

Of course, at a time when the viability and validity of the very principles of political practices used by revolutionary parties in the countries of the socialist community are becoming the agenda of the day together with the confrontation of theoretical and ideological foundations of their policy with the actual developments (which always contain certain deviations from the declared program), the activities of anticommunist centers have been for some time characterized by a sharpening attention to history. How could it be otherwise when the communist parties themselves, and the CPSU above all, are doing the screening, with a view to eliminating the deformations, which are harmful for socialism?! Does this very fact not confirm that the attacks launched in the past by the enemies of the Soviet Union and of communism on our policy and on the ideology underlying it were justified? Again, let us look at criticism (for which the floodgates have been opened)—does it not contain a lot of what we have already heard many times "from the other side of the barricades?" How is one supposed to distinguish truth from hostile slander now? Where is the demarcation line set for the appraisal of social phenomena by the Marxist-Leninist class approach?

What could seem a weakness at first glance, or dangerous thin ice on which we should move only with the utmost caution, is in reality to our advantage—but naturally one must know how to make full use of it. [passage omitted]

True, if the things we proclaim were really separated from the things we do by an abyss, which would radically prove how unrealistic our revolution-borne goals are;

and if the restructuring, combined with frank criticism of our past and present shortcomings, actually revealed this abyss (as our adversaries obviously gleefully expect), then it would be a truly hopeless risk and pre-programmed failure to open the field to such criticism; such a step could not only fail to win for us the people's trust and to activate them to overcome such a conflict, it would also necessarily tend to isolate the party from the society and produce a deep crisis. The thing is: this is not, and cannot be, the case. Socialism has become deeply rooted in our country, and building it has yielded fruit, which has become a natural feature of the working people's lives.

In the first place, the people's power and the entire structure of organizations and agencies of the socialist political system (under our conditions represented by the National Front, which unites the working masses with the workers class as the leading social force into a class entity) have become firmly anchored.

It is not the disruption of this structure that is planned, but its improvement—its greater flexibility, the elimination of bureaucratic deformations, the further gradual intensification of socialist democracy, the gradual shaping and consolidation of socialist self-management (particularly through the development of the activities of national committees and the activation of social organizations), and the fullest possible implementation of the principle of democratic centralism in guiding society. This is also connected with the improvement of the structure in accordance with the constitutional law on the basis of the federation, which has enabled us to resolve our nationality problems (the bone of contention in the pre-Munich republic) in a Leninist spirit.

In this way, the restructuring of our country's political life is taking place on the basis of a political system created in the revolution. [passage omitted]

Secondly, the economic foundation of our socialist society—namely, the system of social ownership, operating in the form of state ownership (by all people) and cooperative ownership—is no less firm.

There does not exist a situation in which one could publicly cast doubts on this economic system. Any and all obvious attempts to do so would encounter clear resistance. The absolute majority of our working people understand very well that it is the reliable foundation of their social certainties and their relatively high living standards, and that it enables us to handle our country's riches rationally and to distribute the fruit of work justly. However, they also want to make the optimum use of the possibilities offered by this system, and of such of its advantages as planning and the merging of production activities in harmony with the society's needs. The losses stemming from extensive reproduction, and from the management and planning system corresponding to it, are seriously harming our economy and negatively affecting the political and moral state of our society. [passage omitted]

It can be confidently said that the realization of the economic reform (which radically differs from the attempts of the preceding period) will imbue our socialist economy with a new dynamism and will open the way to its inevitable modernization, to structural changes corresponding to the demands set by the era of scientific-technical revolution. This will substantially enhance the contribution made by our country to the development of the economic and scientific potential of the countries of the socialist community. However, a great deal will understandably depend on how consistently other fraternal countries will proceed in the intensification; on how successfully we will accomplish our common intentions, expressed in the long-term plans of economic and scientific-technical cooperation along the lines of multilateral and bilateral contacts; and on how we will progress in integrating our economies. That is why we, on our part, must do our utmost. The prosperity of each of our countries depends on the development of the entire community.

Thirdly, the stability of the socialist system in our country undoubtedly depends on our social policy. Despite all the difficulties which we have had to overcome, or perhaps exactly because of them, our social policy offers particularly cogent arguments in favor of socialism, totally disproving fabrications about the conflict between our goals and our reality. We can justly say that social policy has priority in the activities of our party and our state. [passage omitted] However, most people regard our social achievements as a matter of course, as a gift of nature.

This, of course, has its negative aspects—as we all know, and as is being more and more often discussed (and not without misgivings about further developments). The indubitable advantages of our social policy are considerably impaired and weakened by the relatively irrational economy of our production and nonproduction spheres; by the producers' diktat over consumers; by shortcomings on the market and in the services (particularly our chronic inability to push through the principle of remuneration according to the results, that is quality and quantity, of the accomplished work); and by widespread egalitarianism. In this situation we can note various efforts to "grab all one can," according to the "life wisdom" preached by "practicians," and also attempts to develop the ill-famed "shadow economy" and "shadow distribution." This is one of the main causes of discredit to our economic policy, with serious consequences for the people's attitude to work and to socialism in general.

The attention of anticommunist propaganda is understandably focused on these negative phenomena with particular enthusiasm and pleasure. It is a kind of paradox: what we have here are actually features of capitalism, the famous "birthmarks" K. Marx spoke of when warning us about the necessarily long transition period from capitalism to socialism and about its being impossible to build socialism on a site cleared and neatened in advance, and with people already belonging to the new era. Marx could not foresee in the least the kind of conditions under which socialism would be built. He could not even dream of what history was preparing for those who have taken the path of revolutionary transformations in the society of our present century. That is also why he gave no thought to planning how the society should develop in the future and derived the outlines of the new, socialist society from the objectively operating historical laws of the society existing at the time and from the trends of its development, particularly the antagonisms in the capitalism he had so thoroughly studied. [passage omitted]

Faith in the victory of the cause—the cause of the revolution and of the working man's freedom—had to be very strong to enable the party of bolsheviks, led by V. I. Lenin, this unrivalled model of adherence to principles, to win the revolution. This strength had to be even greater to enable the party to lead the Soviet people to the victory of socialism. The sacrifices made by the Soviet people are immeasurable, as were their losses caused by mistakes and blunders. They all must be judged by the magnitude of the accomplished feat, which has opened for mankind the path toward progress and a peaceful future. Today socialism is no longer in the iron clinch of capitalist encirclement, it need not weigh its every step first of all from the viewpoint of the threat to its very existence. But it is far from free of the direct and the (particularly effective) indirect imperialist influence. The fact that socialism has become a world system, capable of warding off the plottings of imperialism and its power, and able to truly influence world developments in keeping with its progressive, peace mission is one of the most significant results and most valuable achievements of the hardshipful and complicated development begun by the Great October. The undoubted purpose of the restructuring that is now taking place in the USSR (and more or less throughout the entire socialist community, in forms that are specific and adequate for this or that country), is to establish all the conditions necessary for enabling socialism to develop further, in harmony with its mission, and to become a dynamic system capable of coping with all the present tasks.

Part of this process is the shaping of the new man. [passage omitted] The hub of this effort is to purposefully shape the socialist way of life and to rear people in the spirit of the scientific world outlook. The task is to make man master the knowledge of modern science and think rationally, free of all forms of spiritual obscurantism, superstitions, and prejudices which bound him to the exploiting societies in the preceding eras. At the same time he should be equipped with ideals representing a well honed system of values which correspond to his active social role, and with a code of the principles of communist ethics, which would be gradually asserted.

This broad understanding of the cultural revolution has naturally nothing in common with sectarian "proletarian culture" or a nihilist attitude to the cultural heritage of the past. Bureaucratic attitudes and formalism are alien to it. Convictions cannot be foisted upon people, dictated, or enforced. Ideological work demands immense patience and consideration with regard to people. Otherwise a principled attitude turns into impermissible intolerance, which evokes aversion to our ideology or drives people to apolitical thinking or a withdrawal from civic life, camouflaged by occasional, intermittent declarations of allegiance to our policy. The efficiency of ideological work is particularly paralyzed by dogmatism and moralizing for the sake of enlightenment, far removed from the people's needs and interests. It has been repeatedly said that the danger of dogmatism lies in its erecting facades which can conceal what is in fact a lack of ideology and principles, and earth-bound pragmatism. It is a dam against creative thinking and the search for new paths of development, an ideology of conservatism. Its fatal consequence (which continues to exist) is that certain people strive to reduce propaganda to a substantiation and uncritical defense of everyday, frequently short-winded and conceptless measures. There is no more reliable way to compromise the party's policy—because the problems that are moving the society cannot be stifled by any propaganda. The strength of propaganda lies in its truthfulness, in its helping to mobilize us for overcoming the existing shortcomings (which it must call by their correct name). Only this kind of propaganda consolidates the party's ties with the masses and their trust in the party's policy.

Some people are clamoring for restructuring in the ideological sphere, believing that all it will involve will be a reorganization of work in this "sector"; as though the substance of restructuring lay in external changes. But changes must always be based on grasping the essence of work, and in this instance a really thorough appreciation of the role of ideological activity in all its basic forms (from theory down to everyday informal agitation in the true sense of the word, when a constant dialogue is conducted with the people). The substance of the required changes must lie in tightly linking ideological work and the activity of the party, of social organizations and all state and economic management agencies wherever they operate, but particularly in the socioeconomic sphere. Ideological work must be based on a well-devised economic policy and a strong social policy. This is the key to its being effective, convincing, offensive, and specific, in short to its links with life, which must be our particular concern today.

In this context one must mention such a weighty issue as the personality cult, and the system of work and methods which characterize it. In emphasizing revolutionary continuity we must make it clear that it involves nothing that is linked with the personality cult (which itself has nothing in common with our revolutionary doctrine, with Leninism). The personality cult is harmful not only because it created an atmosphere in which gross violations of socialist legality, arbitrary reprisals, and the abuse of the people's power occurred, but also because (and this continues to be a topical problem), in the way it proclaimed the active role of the masses, the working people, and the citizens, it in fact gave them the role of passive tools of a policy reserved exclusively for a more-or-less narrow circle of people headed by the "infallible" individual, who could not be criticized and practically not even controlled. The attributes of such an extraordinary personality were mechanically transferred. Such a fetish-like attitude to functions ("The Lord gave them functions, so He also gave them common sense") necessarily distorted the party's leading role and the role of leading functionaries, although their authority must be based on natural foundations—on their experience, abilities, and devotion to the cause of the people and of socialism—and on the democratic substance of socialism. If socialism is to develop successfully, it is and must be the sole concern of working people and their creativity. It is totally absurd to imagine that it can be built up and developed in a bureaucratic manner—this would run contrary to the spirit and foundations of Leninism. [passage omitted]

The deepening of democracy, as socialism understands it, essentially represents the main trend in the development of socialist statehood and is the basis of the gradual transformation of political institutions in a state into businesslike administrative and management mechanisms. It is this long-term process (which naturally cannot be separated from conflicts in life, or understood as a linear increase of democracy) that is decisive in activating the human factor—not a mere "intensification" of ideological work, as some people believe who continue to live in the old ideas of the personality cult, in the idealist belief in the force of words, declarations, and magic formulae, who confuse propaganda with rhetoric, preaching, and moralizing for the sake of enlightenment.

We are commemorating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in a complicated and responsible period. The eyes of everybody concerned about developments in the world are justly turned to Moscow, the citadel of progress and peace, to the country carrying the torch of Great October in the first ranks of the forces fighting to avert a nuclear catastrophe, for the survival of mankind. [passage omitted]

Mankind finds itself at a dangerous, fatal crossroads today. The accumulated weapons could destroy, in a moment, all that man has so far created with his work and mind. It is no coincidence that it is the representatives of the USSR, the first country of socialism, who are coming out with the initiative of new political thinking, which respects the realities of the present world. To believe that wars can still be a continuation of politics, that relations between the peoples of states with different social systems can be resolved from "positions of strength" by thinking in "cold-war" categories, would necessarily lead to mankind's suicide, to everybody's perdition. That is why it is impossible to stay within the framework of the kind of thinking, which takes only class realities into account; one must proceed from the interests common to all mankind, and build up a comprehensive system of international security. [passage omitted] We proceed from the principle formulated by Karl Marx in the first Internationale Manifesto, the principle of liberated labor and peace, which also determines our present efforts.

CTK Cites Bilak Article in PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN
LD021259 Prague CTK in English 1200 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow Dec 2 (CTK correspondent)—The Great October Socialist Revolution speeded up the process of the revolutionary, national-liberation and democratic struggle not only in Europe but the world over, Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and Central Committee Secretary Vasil Bilak said in the 23rd issue of the magazine *Partiynaya Zhizn.*

The efforts exerted by Soviet Communists in the restructuring, the line of social and economic acceleration, the extension of information of the public and democratization have aroused great response the world over.

This line is also supported by the Czechoslovak Communist Party and Czechoslovak workers which has been confirmed by last April's recent visit of Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to Czechoslovakia. All that is a good and inspiring example for Czechoslovakia, Vasil Bilak said.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has set at its 17th congress the target to elevate society to a qualitatively higher degree and increase the living and cultural standard of the Czechoslovak people.

This target follows the real needs and interests of the Czechoslovak people, creative implementation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism, concrete historical conditions as well as the party's experiences and errors. We do not forget how dearly we paid for the lesson from 1968 when our enemies made use of the weakening of the party for a general attack on the bases of socialism, Vasil Bilak stressed.

Moscow Ambassador Meets USSR's Medvedev
LD040147 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] The Soviet Union: Jindrich Rehorek, the Czechoslovak ambassador to the Soviet Union, had a meeting today in Moscow with Vadim Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. They discussed some issues of furthering mutual cooperation.

Goods Exchange Protocol Signed With USSR

AU011753 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Nov 87 p 1

[CTK and "NY"-signed report: "CSSR-USSR Protocol Signed; 1988 Goods Exchange to Total R13 Billion"]

[Excerpt] Prague (Our Correspondent and CTK)—A protocol on the exchange of goods between the CSSR and the USSR in 1988 was signed by the Ministers of Foreign Trade from the two countries, Bohumil Urban and Boris Aristov, in Prague on Thursday [26 November]. The signing of the protocol was attended by Rudolf Rohlicek, CSSR first deputy premier, and Ilya Shtodin, counselor-ambassador of the USSR Embassy in the CSSR.

The document envisages the volume of the goods exchange to exceed R13 billion. In 1988 the USSR will export to the CSSR machine tools, construction and road-building machinery, tractors and agricultural machinery, computers [vypocetni technika], aircraft, automobiles, and technical consumer goods. The USSR will also deliver great quantities of energy-yielding raw materials, including crude oil and crude oil products, and bituminous coal, iron ore, electricity, natural gas, ferrous and non-ferrous metals, mineral fertilizers, cotton, chemical products, and sawed timber.

The main articles in Czechoslovak exports are machinery and equipment, especially metal-working machinery, chemical equipment, machinery and equipment for the agricultural-industrial complex, tractors and agricultural machinery, computers [elektronicka vypocetni technika], communications equipment, ships, and trucks. Czechoslovakia will also export to the Soviet Union consumer goods, such as footwear, ready-made garments, knitwear, textiles, small fancy goods [galanterie], kitchenware, furniture, and pharmaceutical products.

Next year the two countries' cooperation will continue in the construction of the Krivoy Rog oxidized ores dressing plant, in the opening up of the Yamburg natural gas deposits and the construction of the Yamburg Gas pipeline, as well as in the construction and reconstruction of a number of national-economic projects in the USSR, a matter which will ensure our long-term supply of natural gas and iron-containing ores from the Soviet Union.

The protocol is based on the two countries' obligations arising from the CSSR-USSR Agreement on Goods Exchange and Payments in the 1986-90 Period, which ensures conditions for further improving trade and economic relations in accordance with the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ and the 27th CPSU Congresses, as well as with the results of the talks conducted by the two countries' leading party and government officials. [passage omitted]

Husak Receives Outgoing Ambassador

LD031639 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the Republic, today received the newly appointed ambassador to Japan and the Philippines, Rudolf Jakubik, before he takes up his diplomatic post.

Husak Greets Japanese CP's Kenji Miyamoto

AU011514 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Nov 87 p 1

[CTK report: "On His Reelection to the Position"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, sent Kenji Miyamoto a congratulatory telegram on the latter's reelection to the position of Central Committee chairman of the Communist Party of Japan (JCP). The telegram expresses the conviction that the relations between the two parties will continue to successfully develop on the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in the interests of the people of both countries and of peace and progress throughout the world.

Leaders Greet Laos on National Day

AU031325 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Dec 87 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Comradely Greetings and Congratulations; Telegrams From Czechoslovak Representatives on Lao National Day"]

[Text] Prague—Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and CSSR president, and Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, sent Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), and Phoumi Vongvichit, acting president of the Lao Peoples Democratic Republic (LPDR), the following greetings telegram:

Dear Comrades, on the occasion of the 12th anniversary of the proclamation of the LPDR we send you, the LPRP Central Committee, the Lao government, and the fraternal Lao people cordial comradely greetings and congratulations on behalf of the CPCZ Central Committee, the CSSR people, and all Czechoslovak people, and also on our own behalf.

The proclamation of the LPDR was the victorious culmination of the many years of revolutionary struggle for freedom, independence, and a socially just society, waged by the Lao patriots together with all peoples of Indochina against the colonial oppression and aggression of American imperialism.

We in the CSSR highly appreciate the efforts made by the people of your country in successfully fulfilling the conclusions of the Fourth Congress of their party under the LPRP's leadership and in close cooperation with the Soviet Union, the SRV, the People's Republic of Kampuchea, and other states of the socialist community on the road of realizing deep revolutionary transformations in the country and in the defense of state sovereignty and national independence.

We hold in sincere respect the LPRP's contribution to the development of cooperation among the states of the socialist community and its lasting effort to transform South-East Asia into an area of stability and peaceful cooperation. In this way the LPRP is significantly contributing to the worldwide struggle for peace and social progress, for mankind's happy future.

We are convinced that the traditional relations of friendship and mutual cooperation between our two fraternal parties, states, and peoples, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, will continue to successfully deepen and develop, in keeping with the interests of Czechoslovak and Lao people and in the spirit of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation Between the CSSR and LPRP.

On this significant day in the life of your country we wish you, dear Comrades, and all Lao people many further successes in working for the all-round upsurge of your country.

Alois Indra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the CSSR's Federal Assembly, sent a congratulatory telegram to Lovansai Sisomphon, LPRP Central Committee Politburo member and acting chairman of the LPDR Supreme People's Assembly. On the same occasion Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, sent a congratulatory telegram to Phoun Sipaseut, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and LPDR minister of foreign affairs.

Havlin Addresses Students' Conference

AU011853 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Nov 87 p 5

[Report on speech by Josef Havlin, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, at the Seventh Statewide Conference of the Socialist Youth Union's University-Level Students in Prague on 26 November: "Only Well-Trained Experts Will Pass Muster"]

[Excerpts] Comrade Josef Havlin spoke at the Seventh Statewide Conference of the Socialist Youth Union's University-level Students on Thursday [26 November].

He expressed the conviction that the collectives of highly qualified people, who are working at institutes of high learning, at the Academies of Sciences and in other institutions, will become actively involved in the processes of social restructuring, which our society is beginning to develop under the party's leadership, and that they will not just be standing alongside as observers. [passage omitted]

The time has come for decisive actions—also at the institutes of higher learning, for actions founded on concrete results of work and not just on vocal endorsement nor only on approving the road that has been embarked upon.

The involvement of institutes of higher learning in the process of restructuring does not correspond by far to today's needs of society and even less to its future needs. [passage omitted]

Some positive steps regarding the improvement of the work of institutes of higher learning notwithstanding, one has to say openly that a number of schools have forgotten quite a few things. Time is being unnecessarily wasted by not having enough courage to say in the collectives of teachers at institutes of higher learning a critical word among their own ranks, especially the necessity to subordinate the educational process to new situations, to more exacting demands. After all, it is generally known that in more than one instance the low level qualifications of some teachers are being silently disregarded, and the same applies to their inadequate political, pedagogic-psychological and moral preparation for the fulfillment of their mission, that an unwarranted prolongation of postgraduate studies is being tolerated, and that there exists a number of other ills, which have nothing in common with the academic fora of institutes of higher learning.

The fundamental objective at institutes of higher learning is to accelerate the realization of the tasks, which were established in the documents on the further development of the Czechoslovak educational system. There are quite a few of them and they are causing great concern for all of us. In addition to them, it is necessary to eliminate all administrative barriers, sediments of formalism in the work of institutes of higher learning. We must create a social climate, which will enable the deepening of the fulfillment of basic educational functions. [passage omitted]

From the lectern of your conference we are calling on representatives of our entire economic sphere, social practice, and managing bodies and organizations. Ponder profoundly what can and what cannot be expected of young people, who are entering life after their graduation. Do not expect to set fully-fledged chief designers, technologists, directors and people who will immediately help you to resolve, absolutely without conflicts, problems that have been bothering you for years and whose solution has been postponed. The graduates of institutes of higher learning are thousands of highly mobile and highly qualified allies of yours. Open to them the gates of enterprises, workshops, and preproduction stages. In the first moments you will have quite a few problems with them, but everything will pay off to you hundred-fold and very quickly. Persistence in the existing practices when graduates of institutes of higher learning are left to their own devices, and must frequently rely on cronyism and favoritism, would only attest to the fact that the transition of our graduates into life is being done by means of practices very much alien to socialist society. [passage omitted]

At this forum, too, it is necessary to say that justified critical voices, which have been drawing attention to the inadequate preparedness of many graduates of institutes of higher learning for an active involvement in social life under new, demanding conditions, are not meeting with the necessary response from those who are responsible for their preparation at institutes of high learning.

Let us take work discipline, which is the foundation of everything. The fact is that one does not draw sufficient conclusions from the violation of discipline by some teachers, whom students must sometimes laboriously track down to be able to take exams or consult with them on unclear problems pertaining to studies. It is almost unbelievable how many lectures and seminars are being taught by substitutes. I do not have to expand on the quality of these substitutes.

On the other hand, however, I must take some teachers of institutes of higher learning under a protective wing. They should not always be blamed for their absence. Very often they must attend various consultations, meetings, and schoolings which are usually necessary; they are burdened by too much administrative work—and not only at institutes of higher learning; and they do not have enough assistants and technology. [passage omitted]

Facts and everyday experience show us that, overall, the upward trend of our young people's cultural, artistic, and aesthetic interests predominates. We wish that the young people would be able to even better orient themselves in the real values of the arts than has been the case so far.

What causes us concern is the fact that some young people lack cultural standards. We must not tolerate this. Our duty is to thoroughly analyze the cause of this state, find out why young people are groping, why they frequently succumb to the strong effects of influences that are alien to socialism. [passage omitted]

The restructuring of our society needs people with a pronounced socialist character. We will certainly agree that at the moment we do not have nearly enough of these people. The general requirement for the moral and character profile of socialist man still has not been fulfilled. There still exist the vestiges, the "birth marks" of the past, class-divided society. The complexity of the molding of new human thinking and socialist personality is being influenced not only by our education and ideological influence, but also by direct contact with life, by becoming acquainted with it, including the negative phenomena which exist.

We must constantly strive for the quality of socialist personality, for the firmness of the character of the people. These are not given once and for all. We also must keep in mind that a correct and socially desirable molding of a well-rounded personality could even be—in complicated social conditions and an unfavorable climate—jeopardized. This danger clearly exists where we have to deal with immature and ideologically unstable people, but also with people who are capable—in the interest of gratifying their personal ambitions—of throwing away all principles of socialist ethics. Such people do live among us. Therefore, we must be very vigilant so that they will not fasten themselves onto the healthy current of restructuring, so that they will not become cheats at the great project which we are beginning to carry out precisely at this moment. [passage omitted]

Lenart Chairs Slovak National Front Session

LD032327 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1700 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] The Presidium of the Central Committee of the Slovak National Front met today in Bratislava. The proceedings were conducted by its chairman Jozef Lenart, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. The Presidium expressed full support for the Soviet Union's principled foreign policy, and welcomed the upcoming Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington. It also discussed the implementation of the Central Council of Trade Union's initiative in Slovakia and measures to boost the initiative further, and some other issues.

Government Session Discusses Wages System

AU011755 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
27 Nov 87 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Convened"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The CSSR Government dealt, at its Thursday [26 November] session, with the results achieved in implementing the program for increasing the economic impact of the wages system, and for developing the brigade method of organizing work and remuneration, and its proposed course until the year 1990. The program is meant to improve the wages system so that it would support more effectively the growth of social labor productivity and the improvement of quality, and also provide a better appreciation of the developing sectors and of work under difficult and unattractive conditions, of creative work in research, technical development, and pre-production sectors, and of the work of foremen and operators.

In the system that is being introduced, the incentive-stimulating components are aimed at promoting differentiated remuneration according to merit, to the demands set by the tasks, and to the employee's personal contribution to economic results. Part of this program is to improve and expand the base of labor consumption norms, to ensure that the wages systems are restructured, and that the amount of wages paid by an enterprise out of its own means, without demands on central resources, is increased.

Toward the end of 1986 the main production branches were applying the new conditions to 1,687 enterprises with a total of 2.9 million employees; by 1 July 1987 the number of enterprises increased to 2,402, and the number of employees increased to 3.7 million. Other branches are currently applying the new system to roughly 40 percent of their employees, and unified cooperative farms to 80 percent of their members.

The government has taken note of the fact that the differentiation of wage tariffs has improved the appreciation (in terms of wages) of work under difficult conditions, in operations requiring demanding techniques and technologies, and in sectors ensuring food supplies for the population and the improvement of living environments. Bonuses to employees have been gradually reoriented toward a better valorization of raw and other materials and energies, toward a better production, exports, and the mastering of new techniques and technologies. At the same time it was critically stressed that the goals envisaged in the sphere of wages have been only partly achieved. The further development of the remuneration system in economic organizations up to the year 1990 must stimulate the accomplishment of the decisive tasks of economic plans and establish conditions for a transition to the new economic mechanism.

In this connection the government instructed the minister of labor and social affairs to limit the responsibility of administration in introducing the new wages tariffs and to provide the organizations with full powers for implementing the forms of wages. Furthermore, it instructed that the extent and conditions of special wages priorities should be checked, and the status and role of collectives operating according to the brigade method of organizing work and remuneration be adjusted in the draft of the labor code amendment.

In connection with the development of the national economy in the years 1988-1990, the government dealt with the scope of overtime work. In view of the fact that overtime work has slightly increased in scope since 1985, the government established the conditions and limits for permitting overtime work over and above the limits set by the labor code after deliberations with the Central Trade Union Council, and the exceptions in banning night work for women. At the same time it emphatically reminded the government members of their lasting task, namely to decrease overtime work in every way, via expedient capital construction, the modernization of production, and improved organization of work.

The government then discussed the report on the implementation of the comprehensive experiment of enhancing the autonomy of economic organizations and their responsibility for the efficient development of other organizations in industry and the building industry; and the report on the experimental verification of the management mechanism in domestic trade and on the introduction of the new mechanism in public catering. In the sphere of trade, 26 enterprises under the management of the Ministry of Trade and 22 consumer cooperatives will join the experiment on 1 January 1988; on the same date all public catering enterprises under the management of national committees, and also the hotels of the Interhotel chain, will start operating according to the new management mechanism.

The government concluded its deliberations by approving certain international treaties and accords.

Adamec Cited on Urgency of Ecology Issue

AU041143 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 2 Dec 87 p 2

[Excerpts from an article by Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR, entitled "Priority of Ecological Responsibility," written for the periodical *NARODNI VYBORY* No 46, published in *MLADA FRONTA*'s "We Have Read for You" column]

[Text] In discussing the implementation of the ecology program, we are coming across plenty of excuses and defenses, across references to incoherent plans and problems with capacities, foreign currency, or finances in general. Many of these arguments are worthy of consideration, as a number of difficulties results from the general situation of our economy. The existing economic mechanism has also complicated and slowed down all sorts of things in this sector. But one thing must be clear to everyone: Neglect for tasks in the area of the environment cannot be justified by anything. Every loss of time, each delay by a year or more greatly aggravates the situation, leads to higher expenditures in the future, and—most important of all—weakens people's trust in the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress. It calls into question our interest and ability to keep our word in a matter which immediately affects the health and the satisfaction of each of our citizens. Making excuses for shortcomings in this sector must be qualified as a serious violation of party and state discipline, as an expression of irresponsibility toward the citizens of not only the locality, district, and region concerned, but our country as a whole. In view of the commitment undertaken by our republic to reduce emissions of sulphur dioxide 30 percent by the year 1993, compared with the 1980 level, the authority and respect of our international commitments are also at stake. Any further delays and dilatoriness must therefore not be permitted and no one can rely on being given pardon. (...)

It is not enough just to issue a warning, to deliver one's opinion, or to send a request. These matters require vigorous and energetic action. One must not let himself be discouraged and should not hesitate to turn even to the highest authorities if necessary.

Two Sentenced for Corrupt Transactions

AU041222 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech
2 Dec 87 p 7

["RUP"-signed article in the "Case From Shadows" column: "Millions Out Of Swindles and Speculations"]

[Text] "Only dear God and I can afford it," Engineer Frantisek Rasocha, former designer of the Elektroproject Prague enterprise, who lives in Bratislava, used to say in the company of his friends, when he succeeded in doing something that could not possibly be done. In view of our conditions, he really could produce miracles. No one was interested in the fact that he did this mostly by means of speculations, violation of regulations, and swindles. Those things were, so to say, in his bloodstream. Together with his colleague, with whom he worked, Engineer Tomas Kaufman, also a designer, he carried out go-between trade activity for foreign companies—without permission—on the territory of our fatherland between 1972 and 1985. These were no small services. After all, it has been proved that Rasocha received at least Kcs1,986,584 for them and Kaufman almost Kcs100,000 more. Moreover, Rasocha inflicted damage to our foreign currency economy totaling at least 81,000 Tuzex korunas, exported numismatic coins to Austria and sold them there, making at least another Kcs500,000 profit. He was also dealing in silver, and during the search of his house 134 kg of silver coins were found, ready to be exported from the Republic. He had a Mercedes, bought in the FRG, assessed at Kcs100,000 under its real value, and so forth, and so forth. A big-time swindler. He also dragged other people into his net of speculation, among them Doctor of Law Jozef Mravec, a diplomatic worker [pracovnik] and later director of the Slovkoncert, and technician Karol Kracmarik of the ZVL enterprise of Skalica. Those people took part in many transactions and robbed society of great sums of money.

In no way did Kaufman lag behind Rasocha. He, too, enriched himself illegally by 69,000 Tuzex korunas, and was also convicted of a swindle connected with the assessment of the value of an imported Citroen automobile. The two had the same official valuation expert [soudni znalec], who was sentenced to 12 months in jail and banned from valuation activity. After an interrogation, it was the turn of the criminal senate of the Bratislava City Court. The defendants were not satisfied with its decision and appealed. No way. The Supreme Court of the Slovak SR decided that Frantisek Rasocha will go to jail with the strictest regimen for 10 years and forfeit his entire property to the state, including his luxury villa and automobile. Kaufman and Mravec each received 4 years, a Kcs50,000 fine, and on top of that Kaufman's automobile was confiscated. Kracmarik received 3 years and a Kcs10,000 fine. They all were brought to the defendants' bench and subsequently to jail by their greed and pathological striving to have more than others, to excel over their colleagues, fellow citizens, and neighbors by have a more luxuriously equipped home, a more luxurious automobile. However, had there been stricter control, their case would not have reached such a extent. That, of course, is a different chapter, which should not be forgotten.

Seminar on Survival of Mankind

AU031451 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
2 Dec 87 p 2

[CTK report: "Plan for Survival of Mankind"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—The Institute For International Relations [UMV] organized a seminar on the theme Comprehensive System of International Security-Plan for the Survival of Mankind on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of organized research into the CSSR international relations in Prague yesterday [1 December]. In a greetings message, Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, said he appreciated the UMV's extensive sphere of basic and applied research, and its lecturing, publishing, and organizational activities. UMV Director Jan Pudlak spoke in his address about the historical development of research into international relations and its current tasks arising from the initiatives of our foreign policy. In the main report, Stefan Murin, CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, explained the urgency of resolving topical issues of the comprehensive system of international security, and the principles and mechanisms of the development of new international relations. Individual reports dealt with the political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian aspects of international security.

Travel Restrictions to CSSR Denied

LD032146 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1548 GMT 3 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 3 Dec (ADN)—In connection with speculation by Western media about alleged changes and restrictions to visa-free travel by GDR citizens to the CSSR, it is noted by the responsible GDR authorities that they lack any factual foundation. As before, GDR citizens entering the CSSR need only present their identity cards.

Nuclear Cooperation Discussed With PRC

LD020026 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1535 GMT 1 Dec 87

[Excerpt] Berlin, 1 Dec 87 ADN—Dr. Georg Sitzlack, state secretary and president of the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection, received the delegation from the PRC State Office for Nuclear Safety, headed by Chi Guangchang, first deputy director general, [name and title as received] at the start of its 10-day working visit to Berlin Tuesday. The discussions are in continuation of the working visit by a Chinese delegation to the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection in 1986.

The subject of the talks is the state and development of the use of nuclear energy and radiation in the GDR and the safety tasks and working methods of the State Office for Nuclear Safety and Radiation Protection. In this context, the program of the IAEA for nuclear safety of atomic plants was also discussed.

Chi Guangchang stressed the importance of nuclear power for the economic development of his country and spoke about the structure and tasks of the State Office for Nuclear Safety, which was founded in 1986 as an independent state organ of control of the government. Criteria and methods to determine the safety of nuclear plants was primarily discussed in the comprehensive talks about safety questions.

The GDR and the PRC will work closely to guarantee the safety of nuclear plants and the protection of people and the environment, and as members of the IAEA will support global efforts for the continuous development of safety criteria and conceptions, to the best of their abilities. [passage omitted]

Academy of Sciences President Visits FRG

DW011025 East Berlin Television Service in German 1830 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] Professor Werner Scheler, president of the GDR Academy of Sciences, today began a visit of several days to the FRG at the headquarters of the German Society for the Advancement of Scientific Research, DFG, in Bonn-Bad Godesberg, where he had talks with DFG President Hubert Markl. Following the conclusion of agreement on scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the FRG during Erich Honecker's official visit in September, cooperation between the academy and the DFG is now also to be improved. The DFG, as a central self-administrative organization of science in the FRG, largely has the same tasks regarding research as the GDR Academy of Sciences.

During his stay in the FRG, Professor Scheler, who is accompanied by academy General Secretary Claus Grote, will visit research facilities in Juelich, Aachen, and Heidelberg. The visit is scheduled to end on Friday, 4 December, with talks and visits in the university town of Goettingen.

FDGB's Tisch Receives Austrian TU Delegation

LD301911 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1520 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Excerpts] Berlin, 30 Nov (ADN)—Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive, received a delegation from the Austrian Trade Union Federation (OEGB) headed by the OEGB Vice President Hilde Seiler, chairwoman of the Women's Section Presidium of the OEGB, for a friendly talk in Berlin today. The trade unionists are visiting the GDR at the invitation of the FDGB National Executive. [passage omitted]

Harry Tisch spoke of all the GDR working poeple's support for Erich Honecker's statement that the GDR will do everything to implement the agreement to be signed in Washington [between the USSR and the United States]. In the knowledge of the close connection between strong socialism and secure peace they have given high performances in socialist competition ahd have used all their strength to fulfill the plan and competition targets for 1987 comprehensively and in concrete terms.

Harry Tisch particularly praised the work of women, who achieve much every day. He spoke of the comprehensive sociopolitical measures which make life easier for mothers in particular and which enable them to be successful in their jobs. [passage omitted]

SED Delegation Addresses Mexican Socialists

AU302028 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Mexico City (ADN)—On Thursday [26 November] the party congress of the Mexican Socialist Party (PMS) continued with plenum sessions and deliberations in three working groups. Central to the discussion were the draft program and draft statutes, the program for action, and the election platform for the 1988 presidential elections.

The greeting speeches of the foreign delegations were received with great attention. To the applause of the delegates Klaus Gaebler, member of the SED Central Committee and head of the propaganda department, the leader of the SED delegation, presented a congratulatory message signed by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee. In his speech he paid tribute to the traditionally rich solidarity existing between the German and Mexican revolutionaries. He noted with satisfaction the agreement between the positions of the SED and the Mexican Socialist Party on the basic issues of our time—in the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear inferno, for disarmament and detente, and for social progress.

Sieber Meets Member of KKE Politburo

AU041200 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3 Dec 87 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Wednesday [2 December] a meeting between Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and director of the International Relations Department, and Nikos Kaloudis, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Greek Communist Party [KKE], took place in Berlin. The interlocutors both expressed their parties' opinion that mankind can entertain new hopes, although the international situation remains tense. The forthcoming signing of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on the double-zero option for nuclear medium-range missiles constitutes a historic event.

The interlocutors agreed on the view that the close fraternal relations between the SED and the KKE have reached a high level. Concrete steps for cooperation between the two parties, which are being further developed and deepened on the basis of the constructive, trusting exchange of opinions between Erich Honecker and Kharilaos Florakis in Berlin in January, were discussed.

Hager Receives Japanese Culture Delegation

AU301945 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On Thursday [26 November] Kurt Hager, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and member of the GDR State Council, received a Japanese delegation for the promotion of the cultural exchange between the GDR and Japan, headed by composer Ikuma Dan, at the State Council building.

Kurt Hager briefed the delegation on the main course of the GDR's social policy aimed at the stable and dynamic continuation of the successful material and cultural development of the life of the population in the GDR. He outlined the principles of the GDR's cultural policy and pointed out the significant role that is attributed to artists and cultural workers in shaping socialist society.

In the course of the meeting the interlocutors provided stimuli for the expansion of cultural and artistic relations between the GDR and Japan and paid great tribute to the level of cultural exchange that has already been achieved.

The talks were attended by Ursula Ragwitz, director of the SED Central Committee Culture Department; Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR State Council; Friedhelm Grabe, state secretary in the Ministry of Culture; and Peter Lorf, deputy minister of culture. Also present was Keizo Kimura, Japanese ambassador to the GDR.

Albanian Envoy Gives National Day Reception

AU301937 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On the occasion of the 75th anniversary of Albania's independence and of the 43d anniversary of its liberation and the victory of the People's Revolution, Ilir Bocka, charge d'affaires ad interim of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, gave a reception in Berlin on Thursday [26 November]. His invitation was honored by Alfred Neumann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Erhard Krack, member of the Council of Ministers and mayor of Berlin; Klaus Sorgenicht, member of the GDR State Council; as well as other figures from the GDR's public life, including Herbert Krolikowski, first deputy minister of foreign affairs. Heads of diplomatic missions accredited in the GDR were also present.

Church 'Hooligans' Sentenced to Prison

LD032200 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Berlin, 3 Dec (ADN)—The Criminal Bench of the Berlin-Mitte Borough [Stadtbezirk] Court on Thursday sentenced to terms of imprisonment of between 1 and 2 years and imposed damages on four hooligans who hit out unscrupulously, while chanting slogans from the Nazi period, at churchgoers to the Church of Zion in Berlin. Several citizens were injured. The hearing of evidence at the trial, which lasted several days, showed that Ronny B., Torsten B., Sven E., and Frank B. crudely disregarded elementary principles of human coexistence, endangered public order and violated the protection of the law guaranteed to citizens in the GDR according to the constitution. They brutally ill-treated visitors in the church grounds and in the church and threw bottles into the crowd. Earlier they had punched and kicked people waiting at the Kastanienallee/Zionskirchstrasse tram stop.

Over 20 witnesses confirmed in their statements the illegal actions of the accused. In its differentiated apportioning of punishment the court took account in its view of the differing involvement in and intensity of the actions. Representatives of the public, including those of the Evangelical Church, took part in the trial each day.

The judgment is not yet in force.

Security Tolerates Berlin Demonstration

DW011030 Bonn DIE WELT in German
1 Dec 87 p 4

[Report by "HRK": "State Security Service Tolerates Silent Demonstration in East Berlin"]

[Text] Berlin—Several hundred people from church groups, independent peace groups, and civil rights groups responded on Sunday to massive state harassment, raids, and arrests of church people with the first spontaneous silent demonstration in "GDR" history. The roughly 300 demonstrators carried candles as they walked through Penzlauer Berg district. Strong state security forces observed the demonstration without taking action.

In the meantime state and church authorities apparently tried to "limit the damage" to the SED leadership's reputation, which was gravely harmed by the police actions. At the request of the church leadership, the "demonstrative watch" ("Mahnwache") at the Zion Church, the church that was involved in the state security organs' searches, has been called off.

East Berlin Bishop Gottfried Forck and Wolfgang Schnur, the Rostock lawyer for "problem cases," had explicitly asked for the pause for negotiations. Preliminary talks took place yesterday between the lawyer and the public prosecutor who is proceeding against four church community members.

Border Troops Observe Anniversary

DW031450 East Berlin Domestic Service
in German 1200 GMT 1 Dec 87

[Text] The GDR border troops' 41st anniversary was commemorated in border and garrison towns today. Representatives of local party-state organs, mass organizations, Free German Youth, the Society for Sports and Technology, and Young Pioneers conveyed congratulations. They thanked the soldiers for reliably protecting the GDR border as a contribution to safeguarding peace. Former comrades-in-arms and families laid wreaths at tombs and memorials of border troops who were killed in performing their reponsible work.

The new training year began today in National People's Army units. Commanders informed the military collectives about the future tasks in training, field service, and the Warsaw Pact integrated services system [diensthabendes system].

Kessler, Baumgarten Visit Border Troops

DW031455 East Berlin Television Service
in German 1830 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Army General Heinz Kessler, minister for national defense, and Dieter Baumgarten, deputy defense minister and chief of the GDR border troops, today visited the Ho Chi Minh and Heinrich Doerrenbach units and a section of the GDR border with Berlin west.

In an address before members of the border troops, Army General Heinz Kessler conveyed cordial combat greetings and wishes of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and National Defense Council chairman, on the successful conclusion of the past training year and on the start of the new training year. The defense minister stressed the border troops' great responitility along the highly sensitive dividing line between socialism and capitalism in central Europe. He said that respect for the GDR's border had proved to be an asset in the European peace order.

Earlier, members of the unit welcomed the guests in their traditions room. In cordial talks they discussed their obligations in the scope of the "Soldiers Deeds—11th Party Congress" competition and promised to do their best to help implement the SED's policy oriented at the people's well being and the safeguarding of peace.

Sindermann Attends Jewish Leader's Funeral

LD040956 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1518 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Dresden, 3 Dec (ADN)—Leave of Lehmut Aris, president of the Jewish National Representation in the GDR, was taken today at a funeral ceremony in Dresden by his relatives, friends, and comrades in battle. During a service in the synagogue of the Jewish congregation, they paid last respects to the man who died on 22 November.

Taking part in the ceremony were: Horst Sindermann, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of State, and president of the GDR People's Chamber; Klaus Gysi, state secretary for church affairs; Hans Modrow, member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive for Dresden; Guenther Witteck, chairman of the government of Dresden Bezirk; and Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer. [passage omitted]

The deceased was then interred at the Jewish cemetery in Dresden. The inscription on the ribbon of the wreath from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the Council of State, bears the inscription: "To our fellow fighter, the sincere antifascist and patriot Helmut Aris, in honor and memory." Members of the Leipzig synagogue choir, led by soloist Helmut Klotz, gave their last farewell to the deceased with temple chants.

Kessler Awards Defense Industry Collectives

AU302032 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28-29 Nov 87 p 1

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Friday [27 November] outstanding scientific and scientific-organizational performances in perfecting socialist national defense were recognized with the awarding of the Friedrich Engels Prize for 1987. At a festive event Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and national defense minister, presented the high award to 16 collectives. Those honored comprise the collectives of Col, Medical Counselor, Prof, and Dr of Medical Science Christian Scheibler; Col, graduated journalist, Dr of Economic Science Hans Joachim Ehlert; Col of Civil Defense, certified engineer Hans Joachim Traebert; Lt Col, graduated economist Lothar Oertel; Lt Col, military science graduate Ernst- Werner Colberg; Navy Commander, certified engineer Joachim Dix; and Maj, Dr of Natural Sciences Dietrich Eckart.

In a speech the defense minister stressed the growing significance of science for the intensification processes in the socialist Armed Forces. It was increasingly possible to focus scientific work on the requirements of practice and to apply the key technologies even more comprehensively. This is also the decisive way to reliably protect the socialist fatherland and peace under all conditions in the future amount. The defense effort is also being determined by the extent of the threat by NATO. The GDR and its Armed Forces, in alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, will continue to make an active contribution to ensuring peace and will strive for a stable equilibrium of the forces at the lowest possible level, Army General Kessler stressed. He thanked the awarded persons and wished them new successes in their scientific work.

Krenz Speaks at College Ceremony

LD302332 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1404 GMT 30 Nov 87

[Text] Berlin, 30 Nov 87 ADN—So far almost 4,000 political science graduates have been trained at the "Karl Liebknecht" College of the German People's Police, which was founded in 1962 in Berlin. On the occasion of its 25th anniversary the college was honored today with the Karl Marx Order.

During the gala ceremony Egon Krenz, Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary, conferred the GDR's highest honor on behalf of Erich Honecker. Other participants included Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and head of the German People's Police, and Professor Kurt Liebknecht, Karl Liebknecht's nephew.

In his greetings address, Egon Krenz emphasized that the jubilee was also proof of how successfully the people's police had developed in the past decades. "As the police of the people, an achievement of the socialist evolution on German soil in itself, they are together with the other defense and security organs a reliable guarantee for the protection of the achievements of our people in building socialism. As an inseparable part of our workers' and peasants' power, they fulfill their revolutionary task under all conditions and guarantee that the citizens of our country can go about their business in peace and safety."

Hungarian-Soviet Aluminum Agreement Anniversary

AU271222 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Nov 87 pp 1, 6

[Correspondent's report: "Karoly Grosz and Miklos Nemeth Receive Aleksey Antonov—Documents Signed on the Establishment of Six Hungarian-Soviet Joint Enterprises—Jozsef Marjai and Aleksey Antonov Address Festive Meeting on Anniversary of Aluminum Oxide-Aluminum Agreement"]

[Text] The Hungarian Aluminum Industry Trust held a festive meeting at the Duna Intercontinental Hotel on 24 November on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the signing of the first Hungarian-Soviet aluminium oxide-aluminum agreement. Also present were Deputy Premier Jozsef Marjai, chairman of the Hungarian part of the Hungarian-Soviet Intergovernmental Committee of Economic and Technical-Scientific cooperation, and Soviet Deputy Premier Aleksey Antonov, chairman of the Soviet part of the committee.

"On the occasion of this 25th anniversary, we have to remember that Hungarian-Soviet cooperation has always been and always will be decisively important for the Hungarian people's economy"—Jozsef Marjai began his address. "With the current situation of the Hungarian economy, it is even more important to further develop these relations and to make use of the advantages inherent in this cooperation. It is necessary to consistently search for new points of interest and instruments in order to advance the internal development of the two national economies.

"Cooperation with the socialist countries, primarily the Soviet Union, will lay the foundations of new conditions for the implementation of the government work program, and the modernization of our own foreign trade structure and the strengthening of the users' interest in importing will contribute to these new conditions. The government program relies on the results achieved so far in our relations, but development is essential too.

"The things that are currently under way in the Soviet Union in the course of social and economic restructuring will improve the conditions for solving our difficult problems. The restructuring process is a multifaceted program of broad actions which fundamentally affects our lives and the development of international relations, and contributes to making them healthier. A further strengthening Soviet economy can exercise a considerable pulling power on our economy too, if we can find the contact points in time.

"We have to ease the development of our contacts. We can hardly count on sudden changes, but most of the conditions for advancement are present, and there is an increasing number of mutual initiatives. The Hungarian Government regards it as important to support these initiatives. We highly appreciate the fact that, at a time when it is searching for solutions for its own complex problems, the Soviet Union is showing great understanding and readiness to help us."

Jozsef Marjai pointed out that the two countries had stipulated a turnover of goods worth R51 billion for the current 5-year plan, and this sum had recently been increased by an additional R1 billion. This work is being continued at the current session of the Hungarian-Soviet intergovernmental committee on economic and technological-scientific cooperation. "In the meantime it has become perceptible, that, on the basis of the CEMA price principle, there has been an improvement in the terms of trade favoring us. our We have a mutual interest to making sure that price changes do not lead to a decrease in the turnover of goods. The Hungarian enterprises should be aware of the possibilities of additional Soviet deliveries. This is in the interest of both the people's economy and the enterprises"—Jozsef Marjai pointed out.

Within the framework of the CEMA comprehensive program of development, the Hungarian enterprises and research institutes worked out opportunities for cooperation with Soviet partners in many programs. New forms of cooperation have been in use since the beginning of this year. Direct contacts have emerged between more than 100 Hungarian and Soviet enterprises, and three Hungarian-Soviet mixed enterprises have also been established. The activity of these enterprises gives cause for confidence.

Jozsef Marjai then made an important announcement: "At present, the two sides are holding talks on establishing joint enterprises in close to 50 subjects. Among these, the founding documents of six such enterprises are being signed in the Parliament on 25 November. There is complete agreement on the need for the joint enterprises to adjust to the real development goals, to be self-sufficient, and to consider the improvement of the two countries' international competitiveness as being one of their goal.

"The Soviet Union and Hungary support each other in all forums in their efforts to further develop cooperation within CEMA. The latest extraordinary 43d CEMA session held in Moscow was characterized by this close cooperation, and the desire to keep this cooperation close in the future too has become stronger."

In conclusion, Jozsef Marjai praised the Hungarian-Soviet aluminum agreement, pointing out that the extension of the agreement beyond 1990 is also part of our major long-term concepts. The year 1962 was a turning point in the history of the Hungarian aluminum industry, and the agreement contributed to the rapid development of the Hungarian aluminum oxide mining and aluminum production.

In his address, Soviet Deputy Premier Aleksey Antonov reminded his listeners that the aluminium oxide-aluminium agreement was the first major bilateral agreement which provided a good example of the mutual advantages inherent in international cooperation. This agreement became a model for the subsequent olefins agreement, agricultural-chemical agreement, and the Ikarus bus and Lada car cooperation agreements. "The results of the past 25 years convincingly show that the parties and governments of the two countries correctly determined the direction of cooperation"—Aleksey Antonov stressed.

[Antonov continues] "Cooperation and the international division of labor is gaining new strength today. The development of specialization was one of the subjects of the latest CEMA session. As for the relations between the two countries, the direct contacts and joint enterprises are definitely worth mentioning. The joint enterprises brought many new things from a financial and legal point of view. There were still some obstacles in the operation of these joint enterprises a few months ago.

"The regulation of the mixed enterprises was the main issue on the agenda of the current session of the intergovernmental committee. It transpired from the report of the heads of these enterprises that there are practically no obstacles in the way of their development."

As Aleksey Antonov pointed out, the reorganization of Soviet foreign economic relations will also take place within the restructuring process, and priorities will develop. The fact that the relations with the socialist countries will continue to enjoy priority is a clear principle. The restructuring process also contributes to the stabilization of the socialist countries' economies, and this confirms that mutual cooperation has always helped in solving problems.

Following Deputy Premier Aleksey Antonov's address, on behalf of the Soviet minister of nonferrous metal industry, the general director of the Soyuz-Aluminie organization reviewed the history of cooperation between the two countries in this field and described the development of the two countries' aluminum industries. Concluding his speech, he presented a present to Lajos Dozsa, general director of the Hungarian Aluminum Industry Trust.

The last speaker at the festive meeting, Industry Minister Laszlo Kapolyi, greeted, on behalf of the ministry, the anniversary of the Hungarian-Soviet aluminium oxide-aluminum agreement. He reminded his audience of the fact that, in 1945, Hungary was confronted with an unprecedented opportunity for development. "In years like the ones following the war, the development of areas that are based on making use of comparative advantages plays a decisive role. Among these areas, the aluminium oxide-aluminum agreement based on Hungary's raw materials and Soviet energy was an agreement of considerable importance. Today, when we speak of joint enterprises, we should not forget about the Soviet-Hungarian joint enterprises established after 1945, enterprises that provided vital help in reviving the domestic industry and beginning reconstruction. They laid the foundations for the later establishment of the aluminum oxide factory in Almasfuzito, the development of cooperation in the nuclear energy industry, and the establishment of one of our latest joint enterprises, the Intermos, which specializes in the production of microelectronic units and powerful integrated circuits."

Grosz Talks With Soviet Finance Minister

LD031636 Budapest MTI in English
1543 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Boris Gostev, Soviet minister of finance, in the Budapest Parliament building on Thursday. The Soviet minister is meeting the invitation of Peter Medgyessy, minister of finance.

The cordial and friendly talks were attended by Peter Medgyessy, and Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Presidential Council Cables PLO on Solidarity Day

AU031711 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
1 Dec 87 p 8

[Text] The Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic greeted in a telegram the PLO Executive Committee on the occasion of the international solidarity day with the Palestinian people.

Szabo-Led Delegation Returns From Japan

LD032341 Budapest MTI in English
1731 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 3 (MTI)—A Hungarian party delegation, led by Istvan Szabo, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and president of the National Council of Cooperatives (TOT), attended the 18th congress of the Japanese Communist Party. During the congress, Istvan Szabo addressed the Tokyo rally of the Japanese Communist Party. The delegation, which met Tetsuzo Fuwa, deputy chairman of the Japanese Communist Party Central Committee, held talks with Hiromu Murakami, president of the Presidium of the Central Committee, and Hiroshi Tachiki, member of the Permanent Presidium of the Central Committee. The representatives of the two parties noted with satisfaction that inter-party relations are developing successfully.

During his visit to Japan, Istvan Szabo met the presidents of Kyowa Hakko and Toyo Menka, the two Japanese firms which founded the largest Hungarian producing joint venture. Istvan Szabo called on the president of the Zenchu Agricultural Cooperation Federation, and visited the federation's research and development centre in Hiratsuka.

The Hungarian delegation, which included Jozsef Gyorke, deputy head of the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP Central Committee, returned to Budapest Thursday.

Nemeth Evaluates South American Tour

LD250243 Budapest MTI in English
1751 GMT 25 Nov 87

[Text] Buenos Aires, November 25 (MTI)—Concluding his tour to Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina, Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, gave an interview to the South American correspondent of MTI. Karoly Nemeth emphasized that he had been given a friendly, cordial welcome in the three countries and held sincere and open talks with Presidents Jose Sarney of Brazil, Julio Maria Sanguinetti of Uruguay and Raul Alfonsin of Argentina. It is to be hoped that the visit will be repeated, further strengthening relations.

Karoly Nemeth termed the relations of Hungary with the three Latin American countries as traditional, particularly in foreign trade. 'We hold identical positions on a number of issues at the international forums as well,' he said.

The talks focused on economic cooperation in all three countries. We experienced readiness for cooperation on behalf of parliaments and supreme courts, in the cultural, technical, scientific fields, sports and tourism. The intention of developing relations in all fields of life was also expressed.

According to Karoly Nemeth's evaluation, the integration process taking place in South America, and in the three countries in particular, does not lead to isolation but creates an opportunity for even close cooperation. Concerning the debt problem, Karoly Nemeth said that Hungary had always advocated a just settlement. 'We take a stand for establishing, with the involvement and responsibility of all parties concerned, a new international economic order, which creates more equal conditions. The elimination of discrimination and protectionism are very important conditions,' he said. Karoly Nemeth mentioned as a good example the Cairns group which took a stand against protectionism, and first of all discrimination by the Common Market and other countries.

Karoly Nemeth said that Hungary, Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina maintain identical positions on some major world policy issues including disarmament, the economic order and the settlement of local conflicts. 'We support the efforts of the Latin American countries to solve their local affairs, and their active participation in the Central American settlement,' he said.

In all three countries Karoly Nemeth met Hungarians who remain loyal to their homeland and expressed pride in being Hungarian.

The president of the Presidential Council termed his visit to South America a good example for cooperation between countries with different social systems.

Berecz Leaves for Bulgaria

LD021954 Budapest MTI in English
1755 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Budapest, December 2 (MTI)—Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, left today for a visit to the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

Janos Berecz was seen off at Ferihegy Airport by Venelin Kocev, ambassador of the People's Republic of Bulgaria to Hungary.

Berescz Interviewed on Ideological Work

LD270005 Prague Television Service
in Czech 1830 GMT 26 Nov 87

[Text] MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz has granted an interview to our Budapest correspondent Pavel Grobarcik. He spoke about some issues concerning his party's ideological work.

[Begin recording] [Berecz, in Hungarian fading into Czech translation] After 20 years the MSZMP Central Committee focused attention on ideological issues. Can this plenum be linked with what was said at the ideological seminar held in Szeged recently. Is it possible to perceive this endeavor as an MSZMP search for the expression of a new economic and social reality in ideology? There is an answer in the content of the question. We maintain jointly that socialism is a society built on scientific foundations, and we act in the same manner. Its leading force is the Marxist-Leninist Party, which consciously directs all most important movements of society. It is necessary that it is aware of its targets and that it possesses a foresight, that it does not dwell only on everyday political experiences and on the operative economic and social management of society.

Much has changed over the last 20 years. Social democracy has changed, our life style is different, we view differently the standard of living and the distribution in socialism; property relationships have multiplied and have become more varied and we implement them in a different way too. There exists a continuity between production and consumption—I could go on listing these things. And precisely for this reason a need has developed to think over the present-day state of our ideology.

We are upholding the positions of Marxism-Leninsim. But do we consider the kind of economic and social experience which Marx and Engels, the founders of this scientific world outlook, proceeded from and when they lived? We have lived through many events since then. We view many things in a different way. We gained new experiences and so we felt that it would be necessary to sum up the MSZMP experience so that we could try to catch a glimpse of tomorrow and of the day after that. The Szeged conference was a meeting of scientific and research institutes, experienced specialists and Party workers. We then published our theoretical and practical findings in a document entitled "The Reform of Socialist Self-Management." Socialist—because socialist is our objective—self-management, because in our country the development of democracy does not mean the plurality of the parties but precisely the unity of the socialist society and self-government. We call it reform because the reform provides such possibilities for us. It does not represent the end, but the means, with the help of which society is overcoming the changes.

We presented this material to the Central Committee, which discussed the basic issues. And the Central Committee adopted the direction of our thought and passed our standpoint once again for discussion by scientific institutes, Party primary organizations, which are to deal with these issues and discuss them again. This is remarkable and correct, because it is impossible to put a final seal on ideological-theoretical issues, but to inspire someone and make people think is a fundamental duty. The results, which we presented to the Central Committee, and our continuation in the work can be considered to be a result of our fruitful cooperation over the last 18 months.

[Grobarcik] How did Hungarian citizens respond to the plenum?

[Berecz] I was surprised by the very wide interest of the people. I always thought that first and foremost it is the intelligentsia who are interested in ideological issues, but it turned out that the work we carried out after the plenum, in television broadcasts, newscasts, newspaper articles and at press conferences was not wasted. Everyone was interested in ideological issues. Our people want to have advanced knowledge in today's complex economic circumstances, when they worry over demanding every-day economic tasks. The intelligentsia want to help. The workers are interested in what our further direction will be like, if we can overcome our economic difficulties. The farmers would like to hear that we have deemed them viable and prosperous in our society. The industrial workers tell us that the democratic participation in managing the enterprises is needed there, too, so we are witnessing a surprisingly wide and positive interest. [end recording]

Berecz Attends Army Conference on Ideology

AU041003 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Dec 87 p 3

[MTI report: "Situation of Ideological Work—Conference in People's Army"]

[Text] A conference was held at the Cultural Center of the Hungarian People's Army on 2 December with the participation of leading commanders, party, and political workers of the People's Army. Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, participated in the conference and gave a lecture on the situation and topical issues of ideological work. At the conference, Colonel General Ferenc Karpati, defense minister, analyzed in detail the role played by the Army in the society and spoke about the special tasks arising from the program of economic and social development. A lecture on the introduction of personal income tax was also given at the 1-day conference.

Berecz Discusses Socialist Development

AU031119 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 1 Dec 87 p 3

["Excerpts" from lecture given by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and Central Committee secretary, at the scientific conference held at the MSZMP Political College on 26 November: "Janos Berecz: Lessons of 7 Decades"]

[Text] A major and world-shaking socialist revolution opened the last 7 decades of history. Since then, we have come to know that the October Revolution not only shook the world—as John Reed put it—but turned it over, reorganized it, and, to a certain extent, also recreated the world. At the cost of tremendous efforts and the stand, sacrifice, blood, and tears of millions of people, a power emerged from this revolution which every party and government, as well as every political force has to consider where the development and shaping of its own fate is concerned. This is well proved by the fact that, in addition to the communists, representatives of many socialist, social democratic, national democratic, and other progressive parties, liberation movements, and international organizations were present in Moscow for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, in spite of all the agony and discord of the 70 years, and in spite of the fact that so many people have tried to play down the historical role of Great October and of socialism; 163 delegations from 119 countries paid their respects to the revolution, and members of 178 delegations met with each other to exchange views on the major tasks connected with the fate of mankind. The Great October was the work of the masses, the "only just war", the particular assertion of class force. It was a revolution whose essential factor was not violence but organization, discipline, and the fact that it contained the potential for humanizing society and its democratic development.

The idea of the October Revolution is the conviction that man's liberation is the essence and final goal of socialism. This is not only a rational program but also a demand deeply rooted in the masses. But in order to make reality out of this potential in the most areas possible, it was necessary to develop—with the leadership of the party—a social revolution, and the creative energy of the people had to be mobilized. Only in this way could the trust in the ideals become harmonious with the conscious activity. It was a special feature of Bolshevik thinking that in planning versions for every stage of the struggle for power and for the beginning of the construction work, and, in the course of implementation, it consistently sought the best possibilities from among these various versions. Decisions were made during debates and responsibility was accepted collectively—this guaranteed uniform action in the course of implementation. The various tactical steps have always helped—never hindered—the assertion of the main political line.

What made the party—the embodied self-conscience of the working class—suitable to lead the struggle for power and the construction of the socialist society? First of all, Lenin's recognition that a self-critical revolutionary practice that is prepared to correct itself and constantly renew itself cannot exist without a constantly enriched revolutionary theory that abhors any dogma. Based on these theoretical foundations, the Bolshevik party can act in a more organized way, with more discipline, more consistently, and with a more expedient activity than any other party of the workers' movement.

These principles were organizationally formulated as democratic centralism, in such a way that democracy is as important an element of this concept as centralism. Naturally, there were situations in which various approaches emerged during the evaluation of phenomena or events, and the political handling of them approaches which led to several proposals. These proposals were voiced at the party forums. In these cases, the Leninist concept of democratic centralism regarded a uniform stand following the decision, rather than discrediting the minority view in a debate, as the decisive element of identification with the party.

From the viewpoint of the correct interpretation and assertion of the party's leading role, this was not merely a theoretical issue but also a practical one. The course of events was such that the party's mass connections and the social basis of the Soviet power had to be strengthened and widened in the framework of a one-party system. There was great need for this broad and strong social base also because it soon transpired after the victory of the revolution that it was needed to accelerate the process of socialist construction in Soviet Russia. The Stalinist methods and solutions that prevailed after Lenin's death severely distorted the implementation of this strategy. Subjectivism and extreme voluntarism increasingly penetrated the decisions. As a result of deviating from the Leninist road, severe damage was caused in the state construction, industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, in culture, and in science.

Refusing to admit that, in spite of the tragic mistakes, the Soviet Union had repeatedly proved its vitality in both years of peace and war, the enemies of socialism kept saying that socialism was identical with mistakes.

The decades of many trials and successes of the history of socialism were first described by the 20th CPSU Congress and very precisely described recently in Mikhail Gorbachev's speech on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. A very important lesson of the latter is that we should never deviate from historical truth and we should always face the past openly. Only this way can one face the people honestly. Mikhail Gorbachev also stressed that, in spite of all the distortions, it is an undeniable fact that the Soviet people contributed to a great extent to the consolidation of the achievements of the Great October and, in the most difficult situations too, they coped with everything that history allotted them as their share.

Looking back at the long road, many things are today more clearly seen in the Soviet Union than before. Life has corrected many simplified concepts of life. It is certain, however, that, when the Soviet communists talks about new concepts like restructuring and glasnost in connection with current tasks, they continue to base the future on the Leninist decrees on power, land, and peace.

There is no doubt—and the MSZMP always expresses it—that providing full support for this policy is a decisive interest of the Hungarian people. By doing so, we continue the heritage of our ancestors. The three Leninist decrees made it clear for the more than 100,000 Hungarian prisoners of war in Russian camps—workers, peasants, teachers, small clerks—that October was speaking to them, Hungarians, too. Some of them brought the revolutionary spirit back home, and others—more than 100,000—defended the Soviet power with arms.

"The turning points of our most recent history"—Janos Kadar said in his speech on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—"are at the same time the important milestones of the Hungarian-Soviet friendship."

The creation of the socialist world order was the most important milestone in the history following the October Revolution. More than 4 decades have passed since socialism became the common fate of quite a few nations, including the Hungarian people, and became a very important factor of contemporary civilization. The socialist system, the experiments and experiences deriving from this system and tested in practice tell a lot to all mankind.

We know that the development of socialism was not an easy and continuous one. Every effort proved to be an illusion if it did not take into consideration the fact that such a tremendous and radical reorganization that reshaped the course of world history and changed the fate of hundred of millions of people cannot bring results without agonies and torment.

Now, when the renewal of socialism has become a worldwide task, we have to answer the following question: What have the last 7 decades given to the world?

Socialism has created a tremendous material and spiritual basis for a new human culture, a basis that provides real possibilities of choice between capitalist and socialism. It can also not be denied that the defensive power of socialism and our efforts to maintain security with the smallest possible military arsenal of the confronting sides are today the most important guarantee of world peace and international security.

"The current generations"—Mikhail Gorbachev expressed recently—"are responsible for the fate of civilization and life on earth. In the final analysis, it depends on them whether the beginning of the new millenium in world history will become the tragic epilog of the history of mankind or the inspiring prolog to mankind's future."

This also applies to Hungary. Hardly a decade before the 1,100th anniversary of the establishment of the Hungarian state, our most important national task is to raise the concept and practice of our socialist construction work to a higher level on the basis of the results we have achieved so far. There are epochal processes underway in the world and the challenges keenly affect us too. We can avoid the situation in which Hungary is forced onto the fringes of development, the emptying of the ideals of socialism, and the weakening of confidence in our future only if we demolish the obstacles hindering our progress and if we consistently implement our programs. This task, which is simultaneously both urgent and time consuming, considerably tests our society's capacity to bear burdens and its capacity of action and performance. Precisely because of this, renewal and reform should be given a new impetus in all areas of our public life. Within this, we should be particularly careful in dealing with the economic development tasks, encouraging ideological life and the party's ideological activity, perfecting the political structure, and improving our guidance. Aware of the fact that adjustment to the main trends of world development is a historically unavoidable requirement, we have to come to an agreement concerning the methods and ways of action.

The need to modernize our economy is the most important element of renewal today and in the foreseeable future. We have to develop a production structure based on modern technology, a production structure that will enrich the material bases of our society with qualitative elements, and thus, will create the conditions for increasing the standard of living on the basis of performance and for improving living conditions. To achieve this, we have to rely on domestic accumulation more than hitherto, particularly on our intellectual resources, and on the increasingly varied forms of cooperation with other countries of the socialist community. The position adopted at the MSZMP Central Committee session of July 1987 and the work program approved at the September session of the National Assembly outlined the necessary strategy for this task.

We have to develop a general thinking, spiritual atmosphere, and political public spirit in which the pressures resulting from our present situation function as elements of encouragement for action rather than elements that paralyze our actions, despite indications of a defensive and disarming public mood. As formulated in the debate at the Central Committee meeting in November, developing ideology is an extremely important task because this directly relates to understanding our economic tasks, making these tasks understood, and to our political culture, and thus, it has strong effect on the people's attitude to public life. An important task in creating awareness is to help "tune" society for the implementation of the programs, help to eliminate the passivity and go-slow policy that still exists in some places, increase our self-confidence, and make the people aware that man is not only the goal of the development program but also the major guarantee of its success. It is also clear that only readiness to act and individual and collective efforts can lead us out of this phase as soon as possible, a phase in which we have to take temporary measures accompanied by sacrifices and denial.

We have come to a new crossroads in socialist construction. In size and value, the tasks ahead of us are similar only to the ones we faced decades ago, at the birth of socialism. The difference is that we can already rely on the strength of the socialist world, the many experiences of other socialist countries and our own experiences too, and we can rely on the driving force the new strategy developing in the Soviet Union represents in world socialism. Because socialism is our common cause, this is the most important international assistance provided for our work. The heritage of October is a common one: the ideals that moved millions of people 70 years ago continue to be inspiring and leading ideals today in the construction of the socialist society.

Not only for the purpose of an example, but our own well-understood interest encourages us to be in harmony, in creative harmony, with the main political guidelines of world socialism.

New Tasks in Socialist Construction Analyzed

AU021430 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 28 Nov 87 p 5

[Unattributed article: "Debate, Responsibility, Unity"]

[Text] The changes that have taken place in the world in the last decades, and which have greatly accelerated today, give the communist and workers' parties increasingly new tasks to fulfill.

Scientific and technological progress is transforming the image of Western societies with tremendous speed and thus also the image of the strata that make up the traditional base of the workers movement. It is no accident that one can increasingly hear the concept of a "two-thirds society" used by the Western European left, a term that makes it so clear that the sudden change in the economic and technological structure has a very contradictory effect on the various social classes and groups of the developed capitalist countries. There are classes among them which definitely draw benefits from this structural change. We can list here not only the groups that belong to the capitalist class, but also many strata of the working class with a not negligible political weight. At the same time, as a result of the change in the points of emphasis in industrial and economic development, considerable groups of workers are drifting into a hopeless situation. The so-called marginal strata [marginalizalodo retegek] only increase the number of these workers; these strata are made up of young people without a permanent job, temporary workers who are constantly increasing, people who raise their children alone, and so on, people who, together with the above mentioned workers' strata, can even make up two-thirds of the society.

This division of society, the weakening of long traditions of forms of solidarity, the fading away of a collective workers' awareness, and the breaking up of the workers' self-awareness in the strictest sense of the word all represent one of the major problems facing the left today, including the communist parties. The danger is that, on the one hand, individuals might lose their class loyalty and their responsibility for the other's livelihood and, on the other hand, new limitations emerge through their dependence on the labor market and their consumer status.

Therefore, it is no accident that a broad debate is under way within the Western European left and also within the communist movement itself, a debate covering a multitude of issues, on the collaboration against multinational enterprises that practice world economic supremacy, the possibilities of leftist cooperation, the future of the workers movement, the chances of reorganizing bourgeois society, and so on, in other words, a debate on major strategic and tactical problems.

If we take a look at the socialist reality of today, we see that the debates are no less intensive in our countries either, nor is any less at stake in these debates. All the more so, because the subject of the debates is to find an answer to a question to which previously we thought we knew the exact answer: How to construct socialism. The debate is extremely intensive and it is being conducted from Poland to China, from the Soviet Union to Yugoslavia, and from Vietnam to Hungary, and it covers all areas of public life: economy, politics, ideology, culture, and so on. The deeper we submerge in the debates, the fewer the taboo subjects, and the more freely we can circle around the subject of our analysis, the more clearly we see the number of unsolved problems and the further tasks that were previously thought to be solved, but which in reality raise increasingly new issues.

It is enough to mention the problem of property relations. Today, when solving the problem of the efficient functions of socialist property is a task that can no longer be postponed, questions like the right of use, coordination of short-term and long-term enterprise interests, as well as harmonizing all these with the interests of the whole of society are emerging much more clearly and cannot be considered as solved, either from a theoretical or practical point of view, and will hardly be adequately solved within a short time. In same way, regarding the other side of the problem, we must also be very careful in declaring the ways and proportions in which private initiative can optimally contribute to socialist construction. In other words: Here we need extremely responsible and thoroughly founded economic and economic policy answers, and at the same time theoretical and ideological answers.

And not only here. Both within the party and outside the party it is clear for many people that the major economic changes which we firmly encourage can be carried out only by reorganizing our system of political institutions, with the help of restructuring and its power to encourage.

We need to rethink several issues concerning the leading role of the party and to know what modifications are needed in this leading role under the current circumstances, which are entirely new compared to previous conditions. At the same time, these entirely new conditions can hardly prompt us to relinquish our well-tested principles overnight and to regard the rethinking of the party's leading role as the creation of some sort of utopian and shoreless liberalism, divorced from our real conditions.

It is also necessary to modernize the system of state institutions, in other words, to redistribute roles within the system of state institutions, to reformulate the role of the Government and the National Assembly, and to reformulate these bodies' relations with the party, and the relations between various political institutions. Expanding the opportunities for the citizens' initiatives, expressing the individual and group interests and endeavors, and considerably increasing the local communities' role to provide initiatives and supervision are no less important requirements. In other words, when the party endeavors to further develop and reform the system of political institutions, the party encourages the biggest possible socialization of politics and of the political activity. We could continue the list of problems that are waiting to be solved and problems that need to be solved immediately. The essential thing, however, is not to take these problems into consideration, but to see that the left, including our party, and the international communist movement that includes the MSZMP, is living in a phase of its history in which it has to face numerous, previously unknown challenges, or challenges that were recognized too late, and in many respects it has to follow a new road on which one can advance only by simultaneously applying courage and caution, brave solutions and circumspection.

Of course, the fact that many respects of the road ahead of us are unknown does not mean that, in following it, we cannot rely on historical experiences, both those of the international communist movement and of our own.

If we take a look at the history of the Western European communist movement in the few recent decades, we come across convincing proof that parties that were able to adjust best to the debate that emerged naturally in connection with the new phenomena and the requirements of discipline and unity—so important for communist parties—were most successful in reacting to the changes of the age and to capitalist attacks. When the above-mentioned harmony was not attained, this led to a decrease in mass support, a decrease in the number of votes, and sometimes even to a split within the party.

The history of the communist parties of the socialist countries also provides us with experiences that are worthy of attention. Lack of debate and neglecting the effort to confront different positions that can lead to a high-level synthesis of views have always led to political problems in the same way as carrying debates from within the party outside the party, "to the street." The well-known crises appearing in the process of socialist construction provide the most spectacular proof of all this.

The consensus that ensures the stability of our society and which consolidated in the course of the dialogue emerged and became durable in Hungary as a result of these lessons. Aware of these lessons, our party could create the basic pillars of stability, such as the consolidation following the counterrevolution, the collectivization of agriculture, and the reform of the economic management, and like the current development program.

These basic pillars and other indispensable elements of our nation's current life emerged from debates, as a result of the confrontation between different, often diametrically opposed views. Today there is no question that one cannot debate, or even desire to be debate in the party, and this should be especially stressed. The requirements of party life not only enable but also demand debates within the party from every party member, debates on every essential issue that affects society, the nation, and thus also the party. At the same time, there is no essential issue connected with the life of society and of the nation that should be discussed without publicizing it in society.

We should not hide from any constructive thought, no matter what its source. These debates can be successful, however, only if the communists participating in these debates firmly represent their conviction: The basis and goal of the consensus that emerges from the debate and renews itself in it is to strengthen the socialist order or, putting it more concretely, to help the implementation of our program of economic and social development under our current conditions. Disregarding this requirement will make the party members uncertain and will weaken the political power that can ensure the success of the program for economic and social development, a program with which, rallying the majority of our nation's best sons, we can lay the foundations of our future.

Hungarian Minister Cites GATT Role

LD011855 Budapest MTI
in English 1606 GMT 1 Dec 87

[Text] Geneva, December 1 (MTI)—Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade and head of the Hungarian delegation, has addressed the festive session held to mark the 40th anniversary of the signing of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). In his address the Hungarian foreign trade minister appreciated the role played by the GATT in establishing the general rules of international trade.

Peter Veress pointed out that it is particularly important for Hungary and for the other countries which depend largely on foreign trade that their foreign economic environment should be stable and the basic principles of GATT, such as the most favoured nation treatment and non-discrimination, be asserted. Peter Veress spoke about the endeavours aimed at stabilizing the Hungarian economy and the guidelines of the government work programme adopted by the Hungarian Parliament. He underlined that a favourable foreign economic environment is indispensible for development. In this context he pointed out that Hungarian export is still inflicted by discriminative and protectionist customs tarrifs and measures, which particularly hamper agricultural sales.

Hungary attaches great importance to the multilateral talks started early this year, the fulfilment of the targets of the Uruguay round. We regard the removal of barriers before agricultural exports as of vital importance. To this end we are cooperating with agricultural exporters of similar interest, rallied in the "Cairns Group" [reference unknown], said Peter Veress.

Article on Citizens' Contribution to Economy

AU031803 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG
in Hungarian 30 Nov 87 p 3

[Article by Jeno Farago: "Is Society Ready to Accept The Tasks?"]

[Excerpts] The question that is presently most often occupying the minds of the citizens who feel responsible for the fate of the country is the following: Is Hungarian society ready to solve the more difficult and demanding tasks that accompany the development program; is the readiness and ability to undertake tasks sufficient; and what can we do at present and in the near future to strengthen this readiness and ability? [passage omitted]

While weighing the answers to this question, the consideration of two basic points of view seems absolutely essential: First, the distance we have covered on the road toward the rational and optimal exploitation of the performance capacity of the economy. Second, the extent to which the distribution of burdens is in accordance with social justice. If we evaluate either one improperly, tensions that would hinder progress on the road to development might emerge.

In recent months, partly as a result of the nature of the task, and partly because plans like the individual income tax and the draft law on the general turnover tax had to be settled and worked out in a fairly short period of time, public opinion has concentrated on evaluating and totaling the expected burdens that will have to be accepted. Therefore, we came late, and—we should admit—with much fear and pessimism to the point of being given a test of strength: What kinds of driving forces can we emancipate and how far is it possible to increase the efficiency of the operating forces to successfully overcome the first, and then the subsequent obstacles? This draws attention to the fact that in the future, the preparation of decisions on important issues that concern all of society will require a society-wide dialogue. Because a one-sided "dialogue" carries the danger that the citizen hears only what concerns him directly, and only this becomes a sensitive issue for him. Yet, he will remain insensitive to the interrelationships of the people's economy and society.

After such preliminaries, one can understand why the many people who play the role of a man who accepts sacrifices, feel victimized and are constantly bothered by the question of "how we have come to this point" instead of demonstrating initiative and searching for solutions. We do not deny that it is quite important to answer this question because our program for action can hardly rely on firm bases without analyzing the precedents, the domestic and international reasons, and their interrelationships. But the completion of such a scientific examination cannot constitute a precondition to begin work, particularly when we look out at the world and we see we must face the influences of new crisis processes. [passage omitted]

A person who travels around the country and often meets people can feel and experience that however strong the requirement is for an analysis of the past that concerns causes and consequences. The majority of the people think that an evaluation is required to enable us to see clearly and to provide more reliable and realistic basis for the acceptance of any workplace or individual undertaking that contributes to development.

One of the speakers at the National Assembly session made an observation that merits attention when he stated that we do not need acceptance of sacrifices, but rather readiness for innovation and ingenuity. We should agree with this deputy, although accepting sacrifices is required during the initial stage of the development program, because without them we might not be able to restore the upset equilibrium between production and consumption. However, we cannot make arrangements for a continuous acceptance of sacrifices, and it is not possible to base a development program or long-term program only on this. We should always rely on efficient and expert work, and on the readiness and capacity of people to create new things. Top-level technology, engineering, structural reorganization, and modernization can primarily be established on this, rather than on continuous cut-backs and the tightening of belts.

Scope is required for the development of the readiness and capacity to accept tasks. Naturally we should clearly realize that scope is restricted into quite a limited framework by the present financial possibilities, particularly in the beginning. But how often have we overcome such limitations when daring initiatives and undertakings that looked superhuman and impossible were permitted, when we could really work, and did not have to waste our efforts on removing the barriers erected by conservatism, laziness, and bureaucracy! Precisely for this reason, increasing the efficiency of the economic activity is not only a question of modern installations and expertise, but also a question of democracy both at the workplace and in public life. That is why we claim that, parallel to the change in the economic structure, there is a need to change and modernize the world outlook in our entire system of political and social institutions. The reform in the enterprise management system was only the first step in this direction. The reform of the institutions should include party and state management, the sphere of social and mass organizations, and also the various movements. The stakes are large: stiffness and lack of change hinder economic development; but by means of modernization we can release driving forces that so far have hardly operated at all, or have had only limited effect.

Institutional reform is necessary because the assertion of democratic guidance and management methods in public life as well as at certain workplaces still has many obstacles. But without these methods, neither the individual nor the collective is able to maximally develop his or its skills. We should fear that while we are encouraging people to accept sacrifices, daring and innovative endeavors, and mercilessly honest constructive criticisms, the lack of willingness to adjust to group interests, laziness, attitudes of "everything is as it should be" and "mind your own business," and similar attitudes and behavior will continue to claim victims. [passage omitted]

It is also possible to answer challenges in critical, crisis situations by implementing an iron fist policy and using coercive means. However, we cannot walk this road because it contradicts the nature of our system, and also the nature of the tasks we have accepted. We should release new creative energies and secure wider scope for those already active. But this is inconceivable without widening the scope of participation, interference, supervision, and the freedom of initiative and of acceptance of tasks; that is, without further developing socialist democracy. Naturally, the widening of democratic rights cannot counterbalance financial sacrifices. But it can accelerate economic development whose performance—measurable in every percent and every tonne—can increase faith in the program and strengthen the readiness and the capacity to accept sacrifices with the hope for stabilization and for the solutions to the difficulties.

Leaders' Public Appearances 18-25 November

AU271344 [Editorial Report] Budapest *Nepszabadsag* in Hungarian from 19 to 26 November, and *Magyar Hirlap* of 23, 25 November, report on the public appearances of the following leaders between 18-25 November (source, date, and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Judit Csehak, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the MSZMP Politburo, and Frigyes Berecz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended a conference of representatives of trade union officials in 400 metallurgical and machine and electrical energy industry enterprises at the headquarters of the metallurgical trade union in Budapest on 23 November. (*Nepszabadsag* 24 Nov p 5)

Frigyes Berecz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the 8th National Conference on Quality at the Budapest Conference Center on 18 November. (*Nepszabadsag* 19 Nov p 5) He also attended the opening ceremony of a textile waste processing plant in Fuzesabony on 20 November. (*Nepszabadsag* 21 Nov p 4)

Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to Budapest's 5th district on 19 November. (*Nepszabadsag* 20 Nov p 5) He also received a *Renmin Ribao* delegation visiting Hungary between 19-23 November; date and place not specified. (*Nepszabadsag* 24 Nov p 5)

Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of KISZ, paid a visit to Budapest's 17th district on 25 November. (*Nepszabadsag* 26 Nov p 5)

Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a visit to Budapest's 3d district on 24 November. (*Magyar Hirlap* 25 Nov p 3)

Peter Varkonyi, minister of foreign affairs, received a delegation of the Canadian Bn'ai Brith organization; date and place not specified. (*Magyar Hirlap* 23 Nov p 7)

PAP Cites Army Daily on INF Treaty

LD031426 Warsaw PAP in English 1333 GMT 3 Dec 87

[tExt] Warsaw, Dec. 3—The *Zolnierz Wolnosci* Army daily commented today on the just concluded meeting of NATO defence ministers. Excerpts:

"In spite of the fact that, at their debates concluded yesterday, defence ministers of twelve NATO states, members of the so-called Eurogroup, expressed unequivocal support for the INF treaty, this did not prevent the same ministers from considering the strengthening of their conventional forces, at the debates of the NATO Defence Planning Committee. They found it necessary to increase spending on conventional arms and to maintain the pace of research work in this field.

"Nobody can question advantages for Europe ensuing from the elimination of some three thousand nuclear warheads installed on medium and short range missiles. However, it is inadmissible to use the INF treaty as a pretext for closing the ranks of the European defence under the mask of conventional domination of the Warsaw Treaty.

"Arguments about the edge of the Warsaw Treaty conventional forces over such forces of NATO do not stand criticism. Even Western centres which carry on research on armaments and disarmement issues (...) confirm the thesis on the parity of forces in central Europe.

"A closer examination of analyses worked out by NATO experts to explain the threat from the East and serving as a basis for extorting money for the military industry show that they are falsified in many respects.

"Why is the myth on the immense domination of conventional forces of the East carefully cultivated. Undoubtedly, the fanning of fear is an accepted way of the preservation of the alliance's cohesion. This would not be sufficient if it were not for business—particularly the financial business of two influential lobbies for whom detente never brings profits, namely the military and industrialists.

"These are the reasons why there are attempts to make use even of the INF treaty, the first case in history of eliminating two categories of nuclear weapons, for the acceleration of race in the expensive field of conventional armaments."

Further Reportage on 29 Nov Referendum

Poll Official on Results

LD040056 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] After the last opinion poll, conducted 5 days before the referendum, we ascertained that 51 percent intended to answer yes to the first question, and 53 percent to the second question, out of the total number of those entitled to vote, stated Albin Kania, director of the Public Opinion Research Center attached to the Radio Committee, when speaking as a guest of television's "Panorama of the Day." Meanwhile, on 29 November, 44 percent answered yes to the first question, and 46 percent to the second question, out of the total number of those entitled to vote in the referendum. In both cases the difference amounted to 7 percentage points, and this exceeds the permitted margin of error, Albin Kania admitted. It should not be more than 3 percent.

As Albin Kania said, there could have been two reasons for this. Firstly, poll questionnaires are anonymous, it is true, but some of those polled might have been afraid to reveal their reservations abut the reform program to the poll's official. In the referendum, during the secret ballot, there were no longer grounds for this kind of fear. Secondly, Director Kania pointed out, some ingrained habits might have played a part, and also some voters failed to understand the instructions on how to vote. For many years, voting without marking the ballot paper meant support for the authorities' proposals. In addition, the method of marking the ballot paper, by crossing out the rejected answer, and therefore based on the principle of the double negative, was not clear and obvious to everyone. The research center had pointed this out and proposed a different design for the ballot paper, on which the chosen answer was to be shown by a cross in the appropriate box. Meanwhile, even the football pool betting coupons, which have been filled out by millions of Poles every week for many years, might have made some voters cross out yes, convinced that that was the answer they were choosing.

'Success for Democracy'

LD032140 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Although the referendum did not produce a decisive result, it confirmed the credibility of the transformations taking place in our country and was an important form of citizens' dialogue and accord. That was the view of the presidium of the PRON National Council's Executive Committee. At the presidium session, Prof Ewa Letowska, civil rights ombudsman, presented a report on the problems of work of this new democratic institution.

The supreme authorities of the Chiristian Social Association described the referendum as a success for Polish democracy. The increase in credibility of the authorities was pointed out. It was also noted that the government should again review the program for the second stage of the economic reform with utmost attention.

Inaccuracy Claim Refuted

LD021919 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Ladies and gentlemen, there was no optimism in the Public Opinion Research Center from the start in the matter of the referendum, said the director of the center, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, explaining the pre-vote opinion polls that were not confirmed by the results of voting. Referring to the statement of the government press spokesman, Jerzy Urban, that the research was not accurate [trafne], the director of the center stated that there were prognoses from two centers for selection [do wyboru], a governmental one and the one of the Ministerial Public Opinion Research Center. Rather than choose or give the difference in the estimates of turnout and the ways of replying to the referendum questions, the spokesman ran together the information both before the referendum, about which the director of the Ministerial Research Center protested, and after the referendum which Stanislaw Kwaitkowski now corrects.

Urban Responds to Media

AU031506 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 30 Nov 87 pp 1, 2

["The Will for Reform"—PAP headline]

[Text] On the day of the referendum, the government spokesman held several meetings with foreign and domestic journalists at the *Interpress* Center. He reported on the referendum and the atmosphere in the country.

After 1700 [1600 GMT], at a time when most of the electorate, about 55 percent, were out to vote, he said: The government thanks those who voted and supported the reform program, as well as those who intend to do so before 2200.

If the majority say "yes" to both questions on the ballot paper, this will enable Polish society to carry out radical and profound reforms according to the concepts presented by the Polish authorities. For such a vote will mean support for most of these concepts.

A victory for the reform in the referendum does not mean a victory for the reform in practical life. Only the effectiveness of the reform will constitute a victory for the Poles.

However, the referendum may reveal a majority desire for the reforms. That is a lot. A desire for the reforms by the majority of citizens is an essential prerequisite for the success of the reforms themselves.

I wish to tell the press, especially the U.S. and West German press, that Radio Free Europe organized an unusually intensive campaign against the Polish referendum. The unconcealed purpose of this campaign was to induce a boycott of the referendum, discredit the reforms in Poland, and convince everyone that nothing can ever come of them. Any person or group of persons willing to discourage others from the reforms and referendum, sow distrust, and call for a boycott were used. Any announcement of a boycott was broadcast several times and furnished with the radio station's own commentaries.

The U.S. Government has encouraged similar reforms to the ones that we have designed. It has stressed the need for social dialogue.

Therefore I ask, and this is no rhetorical question, why is a U.S.-controlled radio station broadcasting something completely opposite to what the American Government is saying openly? Why is Radio Free Europe trying to control the conduct of Poles vis-a-vis the reform program? Is it perhaps a form of subversion against Washington by the Munich-based institution? Or is it a piece of dishonest politics that employs various instruments in order to play discordant tunes?

During the meetings, J. Urban answered questions from journalists and straightened out false information about the referendum.

[*The Washington Post*] Some of the voters are confused by the fact in order to vote "yes" one has to cross out "no." Is this a technical error?

[Urban] Indeed. Psychologists have said that this is a difficult pattern, one that goes against normal custom. The form of the ballot paper was defined in a State Council resolution, but the papers were not printed until later. This resolution also described the method of voting. After that it was too late for any criticism to take effect. But I think that any misunderstanding about how to vote will be cleared by repeated information from television and the press, and referendum commissions will also be obliged to explain what to do in order to vote "yes" and what to do in order to vote "no."

[*Baltimore Sun*] Why have no explanations been added to the questions?

[Urban] Explanations have in fact been published. However, it is impossible to study the program on which the questions are based when one is already at the polling station. These explanations have been put up on billboards and published. Information on important documents adopted before the referendum has also been published. Of course we would like to provide this information when one is voting, but that would be agitation.

[*The Washington Post*] I understand that the results of the referendum will be published nationwide and on a voivodship scale, but not on the scale of individual voting districts, rural districts, and smaller towns. Why is this? Will nonpublication of local results not weaken the nationwide credibility of the reforms?

[Urban] There are no technical possibilities of publishing the referendum results in individual districts. We simply do not have sufficiently developed mass media in order to publish tens of thousands of results. This is not a local referendum, but a national one. For the sake of comparison, it is enough to take the results of voting in the 49 voivodships.

[ANSA] In an interview for a Spanish daily, Cardinal Jozef Glemp spoke about the current sociopolitical situation in Poland and the economic reforms. He said what the Poles should and should not do at the present stage of development of the situation in the country. Did you read the interview? Do you think one can find support for the government reform program in it?

[Urban] I did read the interview, but I suggest you ask the Polish Episcopate's press spokesman for an interpretation.

[*La Stampa*] Why have 3 million more ballot papers been printed than the number of people eligible to vote? Can you confirm this?

[Urban] I confirm that that is true. Every polling station has to have a stock of ballot papers in reserve, and there are over 20,000 polling stations. Such stocks are necessary because people come to vote who are not even on the voting list. They produce evidence that they have been crossed off the voting list in another district, in other words they are newcomers. One can never know how many such newcomers will turn up at any polling station.

Answering another question, J. Urban confirmed that after a service in the church of Saint Brygida in Gdansk, several hundred people gathered outside the church and headed toward the city center. The militia did not use any force, but asked them to disperse. Some of them went to the hotel opposite the railroad station. There they were asked to disperse, which they did. Again the militia did not use force, even though some of these people behaved very aggressively. The size of this group is estimated to have been from 300 to 400, and there were twice as many onlookers. The incident lasted half an hour.

Similar incidents but on a smaller scale took place in Krakow and Nowa Huta, where there were attempts to organize marches. There too the militia successfully called on the people to disperse and not cause disorder on the streets. Again no force was used. [*The Washington Post*] Are all the polling stations supplying attendance figures to one central point where the final turnout is calculated, or are estimates on the final turnout being prepared on the basis of information from several key points?

[Urban] Information is being supplied by all referendum commissions, which are reporting at specified times how many voters have turned up. This information is being conveyed to the national referendum commission from referendum commissions at every level; and it is from the national commission that I am obtaining my information. Of course, no one is in a position to say how many people have voted "yes" or "no" before the ballot boxes have been opened.

[*La Vanguardia*] Is it illegal to vote by proxy?

[Urban] Yes, it is completely illegal.

[CSSR Radio] During the first press meeting today, you told us that there is calm throughout the country. And yet now you talk of attempts to organize demonstrations in Gdansk, Krakow, and Nowa Huta. Do you uphold your earlier assessment of the situation in the country?

[Urban] I do. Generally speaking, there is calm in the country and no one is disturbing the course of the referendum anywhere. Although we have received signals about preparations for various kinds of events, the citizens have nevertheless ignored attempts to organize unrest. In Poland it is almost a tradition for the political activists of Gdansk to go out on the streets directly after a service at the church of Saint Brygida and try and organize unrest. Similar occurrences in Nowa Huta are also a tradition. Apparently this is already part of Polish political folklore.

Rectifying the reports published by some Western press agencies, J. Urban said:

Reuter has falsely reported that several persons were beaten up in Gdansk and that one of them was taken to hospital with serious injuries. UPI lies when it says that oppositionists clashed with the militia on the day the Poles voted for the government austerity program. This is not a government austerity program, J. Urban stressed, but UPI described the government program as an austerity program, one which may cause price hikes of even up to 200 percent. This is not accurate. The structure of price changes was described in this hall. UPI also reported that people were detained by the Motorized Reserve of the Citizens' Militia, which used clubs in an incident at Gdansk railroad depot. The Ministry of Internal Affairs says that clubs were not used. That is why UPI report is incorrect.

UPI also reported, this time correctly, that the activists of the Confederation for Independent Poland carried a banner in front of the U.S. Consulate in Krakow with the inscription: "Our Vote in the Referendum: Communists to Madagascar." UPI journalists should know that this inscription was a travesty of the prewar slogan "Jews to Madagascar," which was put forward by the extreme nationalistic right wing. This travesty was perpetrated by the present fascist heirs to that right wing.

J. Urban's last meeting with journalists took place on Monday, just after midnight. He said:

Over two-thirds of adult Poles, that is, about 68 percent of them, voted in the referendum. Why "about?" Because this is an unofficial estimate based on the number of people who went to the regional referendum commissions' stations. This is preliminary, unofficial, and inadequate information, J. Urban said.

This data can be corrected because some people did not drop their ballots into the boxes. Only those ballots, regardless of what they contain, that are dropped into the voting boxes are taken into consideration when the percentage of voters is computed. We will know the results of the referendum in a few hours time.

This time, J. Urban continued, the number of those who went to the polls was about 11-percent lower than during the 1985 Sejm elections. This is natural because, first, the Polish people have no tradition of voting in referendums and, second, they have been told in advance of the complicated program for reforms and about some important changes these reforms may bring into their lives. We know from public opinion polls that 23 percent of voters were not certain whether they would vote in the referendum. Some of these people did vote and some did not. Those who said they would not vote account for 17 percent of all voters. It is natural that large numbers of people did not want to make such a difficult choice as answering the referendum questions.

Those who did not know how to vote stayed at home, J. Urban said. This is not surprising because, for many people, answering the referendum questions was tantamount to a choice that was too difficult and complicated. I think that, under such circumstances, the number of actual voters is reason for satisfaction. I am pleased that such a considerable proportion of citizens did vote and took a stand on the government program. We still do not the final result of the referendum, but I offer the voters my cordial thanks for the very fact that they took a stand on the reform program and the proposed profound economic changes.

[*The Washington Post*] I think this is the lowest voting turnout since World War II. How far is Solidarity's appeal to boycott the referendum responsible for this low turnout?

[Urban] I do not know what you mean by "since World War II." A little over 50 percent of voters voted in a referendum in Italy, and in some countries the turnout would be just about 30 percent. That is why I think that our voters' turnout in our referendum is very high.

I think that Solidarity's appeal for boycott has misfired, J . Urban said. All observers of the Polish scene were aware of the feeble importance of this boycott and commented on it accordingly. Such appeals cut ice only with a very small group of those who are still under the influence of the former authorities in Solidarity. Its appeals have not been decisive. The voting turnout was determined by one's attitude to reforms, by the uneven discussions about them, by the previous reports about expected wage and price increases. by information about economic changes and some social costs of these changes, and so on. It was also determined by people's correct conviction that they will suffer some material losses in the initial phase of the implementation of our reforms and by people's daily hardships, including the shortage of goods. Such hardships often influence people's moods. But let me stress once again that the turnout to vote in the referendum was very high.

Sadowski on Results

LD022206 Warsaw PAP in English 2045 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—The chairman of the Polish Economic Society Prof. Zdzislaw Sadowski and the chairman of the Polish Economists' Congress, which debated in Kracow, Prof. Jozef Pajestka were to share the conclusions stemming from the congress of the theoreticians and practicians of the Polish economy during a press conference for foreign journalists here today. However, due to well known circumstances the questions were limited mainly to the issue—what after the referendum, and were addressed mainly to Sadowski not as the Economic Society's chairman but as a deputy premier.

Sadowski said that the referendum showed very big support for the programme of the reforms. According to him, this rules out the possibility of giving up a quick implementation of changes in the economy. A general slowing down of the economic reform cannot be considered either. Such a position is supported by the more than 11.6 million votes in favour of radical transformations.

The realizational programme of the second stage of the economic reform was, from the very beginning, an open and flexible programme. "This leaves open the possibility for additions, changes and corrections in concrete issues. Corrections after the referendum will be necessary for a clearer presentation of the issues which cause doubt and social concern, such as: housing construction, verification of the investment programme or the income shaping system", Sadowski explained.

Conclusions are being drawn as far as the price-income policy goes. They follow not only from the results of the referendum but are also the result of the long discussion which had taken place before the actual voting. "These show that the boldest programme of the price-incomes policy, presented in the recently published material of the government's press office, should not be implemented," Sadowski said.

The structure of prices will be changed through the raising of their general level but this will probably be spread out over a longer period. Also, the adjustment of retail prices to the indispensable changes of the supply prices of fuels, energy and resources will take longer. Therefore, the rate of the reduction of subsidies will also be slower. This in turn brings about the necessity of assuring higher than planned revenues for the state budget. In consequence, the implementation of the announcement of the reduction of enterprises' taxes, as well as the achievement of a market equilibrium will also be spread out in time.

Deputy Premier Sadowski also assumes that the intention of giving up meat rationing next year will be abandoned. He stressed that the possible steps outlined by him will not mean—in his opinion—a very substantial reduction of the price level which was planned for 1988, though certain reductions will occur.

Replying to a question about his personal opinion Sadowski stressed that as an economist he is an advocate of making the price structure realistic quickly but that he is also convinced about the necessity of taking into account the society's opinion and its feeling of a certain disquiet—since this is how he understands the process of democracy.

Sadowski informed the newsmen that by Dec. 15, 1987 the government will present the draft of the budget and central annual plan for 1988. These documents will contain the precise decisions pertaining to, among other things, the price-income policy. He once more stressed that the realizational programme of the second stage of the economic reform, open to supplementation and corrections, has been and is being carried out month after month in agreement with the adopted timetable.

Voters Made 'Mistake'

AU021438 Paris AFP in English 1430 GMT 2 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Dec 2 (AFP)—About 10 per cent of Poles who took part in Sunday's referendum on economic reforms proposed by the Polish Government voted "no" by mistake, according to Stanislaw Kwiatkowk, the head of an official survey center.

Most of those casting a "no" instead of a "yes" ballot lived in rural areas, he said, blaming the errors on the complex presentation of the questions put in the referendum on economic and political reforms, in a television interview broadcast late Tuesday.

He explained that in order to give a positive response to the proposed reforms, one should have cast a "no" ballot. [passage omitted]

Jaruzelski Interviewed on Warsaw TV

LD281120 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1630 GMT 27 Nov 87

[Studio interview with Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by a group of unidentified young people and with radio listeners' questions—live; from the "Teleexpress" program]

[Text] [Moderator] (?Here is) the "Teleexpress" studio. Wherever you go, General, there is instant tidying, cleaning, and painting. [laughter] The same with us. But all are very pleased, and we already regret that the meeting will be short. If only you could be with us for longer or more often. But fortunately nobody is painting the grass green, right? [passage indistinct] [laughter]

[Jaruzelski] Can we (?stand at ease)?

[Moderator] Yes, we can sit. [applause] People are here from Krasnik, Wroclaw, Kielce, Bialystok, Warsaw, Deblin, Olsztyn, Poznan, the Cegielski Works, Katowice, all over Poland. I find myself in the role or host for the first time, because I present "Teleexpress." I forgot above all to welcome you. [laughter] Thank you very much for coming to the "Teleexpress" studio. We feared that you might not find us [words indistinct].

[Jaruzelski] But we cannot do without the courtesies.

[Moderator] Yes, but still, General, you have many important matters on your agenda, and we are not the only editorial office in Poland, although some spiteful people say we are the loudest. The first round of questions will be of rather a personal nature. Do you agree, General?

[Jaruzelski] Well, yes I agree. [laughter] Let me add that on entering this building I was powdered and creamed, (?so now I suppose) it is time to get shaved. [laughter] [passage indistinct] Then I got used to it. Then I depart for work. I return from work at different times, (?even after) midnight.

[Questioner] more of this sort of information should be available to make people familiar with the person in question.

[Jaruzelski] Indeed. Our political convention is rather reticent on these matters. As to whether this is good or bad, it is difficult to say. I think that all extremes are bad. I know that there are countries where the press, radio, and television intrude very deeply into the personal lives of people, on the basis of certain sensations. Sometimes this is even brutal, offensive. Maybe we are too reticent in these respects. It is necessary to search for some golden mean.

[Questioner] You give the impression of being a very reserved man, judging at least from the television reportage. Is this diplomatic necessity, or the choice of a noninvolved attitude toward life?

[Jaruzelski] Not involved? [words indistinct]

[Questioner] Well, simply very reserved.

[Jaruzelski] I think that this is simply a question of disposition, character. I am not creating any role; rather, I am myself.

[Questioner] Don't you envy the popularity of Gorbachev?

[Jaruzelski] I don't envy anyone anything. And I am very happy that Gorbachev, whom I respect very much—more, I like him—enjoys such popularity. This is important, it seems to me, not only for the Soviet Union but in a broader dimension, particularly taking into account the fact that he is a great friend of Poland.

[Questioner] General, you are not jealous of peoples' popularity. But how did you react to the result of the poll by the Public Opinion Research Center. The center wanted to discover the popularity enjoyed by Polish and foreign politicians in our society. (?Almost) 60, 60 plus percent replied to the question of whether a given person arouses liking [sympatia]. As far as you are concerned more than 60 percent replied positively. But weren't you surprised by the fact that from the viewpoint of popularity, Gorbachev was ahead of you in second place, while the pope was in first place?

[Jaruzelski] That doesn't surprise me. It doesn't surprise me because, although we speak of the Gorbachev phenomenon, we interpret it, we have to interpret it more broadly, of course, as the Soviet policies. Today he is so strong, so communicative and treated so much as a great opportunity, that I consider it to be normal, natural, and indeed there is no envy. [passage indistinct]

Am I the only one who is supposed to have this coffee here? That won't do at all. [passage indistinct] But I am not going to drink it on my own....

[Moderator, interrupting] But, General, it's just that no one wants any more coffee. [laughter] You have to drink on your own now. [laughter]

[Questioner] [words indistinct] Elzbieta Daciwafrom Lipnica writes that her mother maintains that you find Primate Glemp easy to talk to. She wants to know whether that's because you attended a school run by the Marian Fathers.

[Jaruzelski] Has she some eavesdropping equipment then? [laughter]

[Questioner] She probably read your interview by Zrnka Novak.

[Jaruzelski] Primate Glemp is a person you talk to seriously, as the subject of our conversations first and foremost concerns issues that are of great importance for our country and our people. At a higher level, which is the Polish cause, the cause of Poland's place and position in Europe and the world, its internal stability, its development, we hold a joint view. That does not of course mean that we merely pay each other compliments. There are issues on which we differ. But this is never of a nature which would eliminate the fundamental level of these talks. Whereas I don't think that the type of school I attended is of any particular use, except perhaps that I still remember a bit of Latin....

[Questioner, interrupting] Greek?

[Jaruzelski] I did not study Greek. I remember a few expressions from the mass, from the altar boys' responses, but I try not to use these when talking to the primate, knowing full well that he knows them much better than I do. [laughter] Although here we have our Polish paradox. I attended for 6 years a school run by priests, while Primate Glemp, who is several years my junior, attended a school that educated its pupils in a very socialist spirit because it was during the fifties. (?So you see), this does not cause any clash. I think that everyone learned something during this phase in his life.

[Questioner] What did you feel, please—not as a politician, but as a Pole, as a member of this society—standing in front of the cameras on 13 December proclaiming martial law?

[Jaruzelski] I felt a great burden, great bitterness, that we had to, that I had to employ these means. But precisely because I am a Pole, I wished to avoid what would have been, could have become a national tragedy: a fratricidal conflict, the total ruin of the economy, disintegration of the state. And I consider that it was primarily as a Pole, that I made this decision. It was difficult and tough.

[Questioner] I have recently returned from military service. I am asking not in my own interest, but in that of many young people.

[Jaruzelski] And what do you look like? [laughter]

[Questioner] Not bad. I have a question. Many young people want to avoid military service. Do you really consider this to be—that is, do you consider these people completely lost, not proper citizens?

[Another questioner] If you had a son, would you try to get him excused from the Army?

[Jaruzelski] Under no circumstances would I try to get him excused. Furthermore, if I had a son I would be happy if he could follow the same path as I did, that is, become an officer. I do not wish to use here exalted phrases. The constitution expresses this best: what an obligation this is. I consider that every man who feels himself to be a man, and not a softie or a shirker, ought to go through this duty. This is, after all, not only an issue of some whim; this is a serious obligation which arises from the still existing threats, from the still unstable situation in Europe and the world. The Army is one of the factors of the strength of the state, the state's prestige and position. In our case we cannot give up such a trump card.

[Questioner] Some people express the view as to whether by any chance this patriotism is not the stereotype which applied in the post- and prewar years. Aren't you afraid that if things continue like this, then we will have a situation whereby this patriotism disappears? It will be no more, because (?many) of your generation maintain that we are commercialized; and that we are not patriots.

[Another questioner] A result of investigations by the Central Public Opinion Research Center: more that 37 percent of pupils finishing school last year were convinced of the lack of prospects in life for the young generation. Ninety decalred a wish to go abroad: half of these to earn money; but only 8 percent would emigrate for good. So there is some hope. [Jaruzelski] I recall some recent figures to the effect that between 1983 and 1987, that is almost right up to the last moment, 14,000—I do not recall the last figures—people aged between 18 and 35 left Poland permanently. Whereas there were 76,000 who left for a temporary stay. We have to bear in mind that some people will not come back from that stay. But these are not figures which should dismay us at the present. We should rather be uneasy about this tendency persisting, about it lasting for a long time. I would question here the view or anxiety that young Polish people may cease to be patriotic. I do not believe that.

[Questioner] Well, that is a fringe, it's merely a few percent. But there is this whole great majority which remains in the country and which should make money in state employment.

[Another questioner] My professor used to say that solcialism was a fine idea but a very poor one because it had no economics of its own. And economics lectures seemed to confirm that, because when we had to learn formulae of capitalist economic they were very clear and easy to remember. When it came to formulae in our economics, we had to swot them up. But there is only one mathematics, and economics is a science of counting.

[Another questioner] What guarantee have we got that this reform is going to succeed if it is being made by the people who made the previous ones ?

[Moderator] (? Talking of guarantees), I would like to add a question which we have often heard repeated in the calls we have received: Can these reforms succeed, considering we have tried so many times already and nothing has come of it ? [passage indistinct]

[Jaruzelski] Well, we have a whole collection of questions here which often even somewhat contradict one another. There is one thing I cannot tell you: I cannot give you my word of honor that the reform will succeed, because there is no formula which could be used in a given case.

[Questioner] The best thing is to say that it depends on people, because that is seldom said.

[Jaruzelski] There is an opportunity and the conditions have been created, the conditions will be created, if this project is (?indeed) accepted. There are conditions and mechanisms, but mechanisms alone—nobody has yet invented a perpetuum mobile, every mechanism needs a person to operate it and he can do this well or badly. He can respect that mechanism, or treat it with disregard. That's how it was in the first stage of the reform. That is, after all, the process of forcing a way through a thicket of lack of experience in that material, through various kinds of resistance: bureaucratic resistance at what we call the top and also resistance at the bottom, a reluctance to make certain unpopular but economically absolutely essential decisions.

[Questioner] But, General, history teaches us about life and the histroy of People's Poland by no means fills one with optimism. If one looks at the history of the last few decades from the vantage point of today it turns out that it was always something like this: we were either in a crisis or else emerging from crisis or, for a change, a moment ago we had passed through a period of errors and distortions [okres bledow i wypaczen]. That, in fact, is the question: How can we have faith, simply, in socialism, in socialist reform?

[Jaruzelski] Your statements, comments, and complaints, most of which are justified, take a look at the young generation and are speaking in its interests, so to speak. But in talking about the everyday troubles we have, the difficulties we have of how hard it is to get started, one must sometimes turn one's thoughts and hearts toward those generations that have after all borne the great burden of past years, toward your mothers, fathers, and grandparents. It is sometimes no less hard for some of them, and I think one has to see in your passion, as I understand it, to create something new, larger, and better a concern for those generations that have to be guaranteed a dignified old age. This is a correction, or maybe an addendum. I wouldn't like us to forget it.

But I am not speaking of this by chance, because views and thoughts have been heard here, from which it results that those 40 years were nothing but a string of crises, that nothing good happened, in fact, in [word indistinct] Poland in the meantime. Permit me to reduce this to caricature: It could be regarded like this: once upon a time there was Poland, a land flowing with milk and honey, in 1939. Then, some sort of occupation incident; and then those horrible Communists came and ruined everything. One must not reason like this, because it is an affront to those generations that built Poland, from a very backward country terribly devastated by war to today's state, which is far from perfection and which, unfortunately, has the weak points and flaws you have been talking about, but which is completely different. And it is different because it has educated young people, who have work, which may not be completely satisfactory materially and in other respects, but it is there. They did not beg to be able to work, (?in their line to the employment office). Work is, after all, a very important matter in a person's life. Do not think that I came here to indulge in cheap didacticism. For perhaps (?people) really did rather exaggerate in these matters, showing only that aspect of the difficulties that was necessary to overcome. But everything must stand on two legs. I should like to say one thing: that which is bad today must be changed, even be burned out with a hot iron. This includes changing the people who do not meet these requirements. Here I reply in passing to one of the questions: that is, as to how are the same persons supposed to carry out the reform who did not pass the test during the implementation of the hitherto stage of the economic reform.

First, one cannot say that the first stage was a total failure. I (? cannot) be too specific on this matter; time does not permit it. Various objective and subjective respects decided the outcome. But there would be no second stage if there has not been the first, if there had not been those bridgeheads. And so to speak about the people, many of whom are already different people—I spoke earlier about how many changes have taken place—these people are in fact preparing this reform, with the broad participation of the most eminent specialists, economists, the flower of our economists have worked on this reform. There is no alternative reform. There is, of course, the slower pace. If the referendum were to bring a negative result, then it will take longer, it will be more burdensome, laborious, just like now, or just a little better. This is what this choice is about.

The people are not the (?same) either. It is sufficient to mention Deputy Premier Prof Sadowski. He has been deputy premier for only 2 years. These are people who have behind them long periods of management, and what? Unsuccessful management? I do not think so.

Sorry, I got carried away in may talking. Your program does not tolerate such a convention. But there were so many questions, and so it was necessary to adopt a (? stance) on some of them.

[Moderator] I hesitated, but I wanted to mention, to return as it were to the beginning, to give even if only a little satisfaction to those who write to us daily. I give it to you at "Teleexpress" pace. Hunger, old age, and disability pensions, criticism of the State Railways, State Road Transport, and the entire transport system in Poland, regrets, petitions, and requests for intervention, toilet paper shortages for 40 years—how much longer can you write and talk of this? Maybe we regard many matters through the prism of individual single human dramas, but this deduction of mine is not fortuitous.

I wanted to ask you: do you not consider that the authorities, including the party, have assumed too great an obligation? Assuming a great obligation, (? they) take upon themselves a huge responsibility for the country. Is it not high time to share authority, and at the same time responsibility, with people, with the lower echelons, so that it is not the party that decides the selection of a cooperative chairman, but the residents, the tenants, whereas hitherto his candidacy has always been endorsed by the party echelons? Would that not be better for us all?

[Jaruzelski] I agree that omnipotence of the state, the condition which we have been creating for years—it even had some justification in the immediate postwar years, when extremely complex processes had to be centrally controlled. [sentence as heard] All Poland was on the move, millions of people were moving from one place to another, from east to west, from west to east, from the countryside to the cities; there was reconstruction, industrialization, a shortage of personnel, and at the time the central model was justified in a way. But it lasted too long. And we all got used to it; society got used to the fact that those above will provide, share it out, decide, sort it out. We are getting away from this. It is not simple to depart from it and not just in the sense of ordaining it, because that is the easiest, quickest thing to do, but in respect of certain habits in people. But I totally agree with this. They have to be [word indistinct] developed in that direction.

[Questioner] Can we take risks ?

[Jaruzelski] You ought to.

[Questioner] Perhaps young people will say that they would like to break through, but somewhere or other the administrative machine is stopping them. Let's have the following experiments. There are enterprises which are going bankrupt. The state is not going to lose out on this because they are already going bankrupt. Let us staff them with young people. We have graduates, we have workers with completed vocational education prepared to do this. Let us do this kind of experiment, and then we would learn whether these young people really can do it.

[Jaruzelski] By all means. Presumably there is someone out there watching and listening to us, including young people. Let those who are willing to take over such an enterprise come forward.

[Questioner] Do you envisage in the second stage of the reform the problem of structural unemployment? Do you envisage what some of the reformers say?

[Jaruzelski] I do not envisage the problem of structural unemployment, and not only from doctrinal considerations, although we are not going to depart from these, but from purely practical considerations. We by no means have the highest index of people with higher education as compared with other countries. Although it is not all that small, it is not the highest.

Second, we have enormous requirements in the entire field of services. Let us recall what great difficulties, what shortages there are in education, in other areas of public services. So we need people to transfer to these professions where there is high demand and where work can be found in accordance with qualifications. Why should an engineer, even if it proves that there is a surplus, let's call it, in industry, not be a teacher of physics or mathematics or some other subject, particularly when we assume that teachers' pay should increase? One could develop and expand this. So, I don't see such a (?hold-up), practically. Of course, there may be one thing: that people will have to change workplaces, in some cases change qualifications. Means and possibilities are envisaged for that. The most difficult problem is changing the place where one lives, but this is connected with the question of a roof over one's head and, as we know, the situation is not good here. This problem is not there at the moment.

[Questioner] General, it is said—excuse me [word indistinct]—more and more is being said about democracy and openness, and I'd like to touch on that, if I may. I am from the ecological movement [word indistinct] and I am interested in the issue of constructing a nuclear power plant at Zarnowiec. After the breakdown at Chernobyl we began to look a bit more closely at what was happening there. We all want the building there to be safe.

[Jaruzelski] The Chernobyl accident [przypadek]—and I know about it from more authoritative sources—was not a technical flaw. It was a mistake, a careless mistake by people who flagrantly broke the regulations for operating that power plant.

[Questioner] That could happen in (?Poland too).

[Jaruzelski] One can be afraid of everything. We travel by car every day. We sometimes travel by plane.

[Questioner] (?There is no comparison...)

[Jaruzelski] But what is the conclusion from this? There can be two conclusions. One can be: let's not make nuclear power plants, and we will be a sort of island in Europe that doesn't have them. Today, France...

[Questioner, interrupting] [Words indistinct] now in the West they are moving away from building nuclear power plants.

[Jaruzelski] They are not moving away, (?not even) talking (?of it). Thirty percent of electricity in France comes from nuclear power plants. There is a similar situation in many other Western countries. It's the only way. Coal is running out, so is oil. There is no other way at the moment. There is some research on solar energy. So, this is a fundamental issue. The second thing is the question of safety. Of course, all safety conditions must be met.

[Questioner] The most important issue is economics. Nothing else counts for anything today. For example, ecological benefits are optional. In fact, whether the (?environment) is there or not, what conditions we are living in aren't important to people concerned with economics.

[Jaruzelski] There is a saying: the wind always blows in the poor man' face. The smoke is always in the poor man's eyes. The point is that we have not been devoting up to now and are still not devoting as much money as we should to matters connected with ecology, given the level of civilization. Although in the years of crisis, in the last 6 years, investment expenditure for these purposes rose fourfold—fourfold. Of course, this is still not as much as it should be, that is the first thing.

The second is an elementary sense of duty and responsibility. Many of these cases of which you speak arise from nonobservance of regulations, all sorts of negligence. Anyway, the environment can be greatly damaged by someone dropping a cigarette butt in a forest. It is not just factories that are destroying Poland; Poles are destroying Poland. I am sorry about the generalization. It's vandals. [Questioner] General, what is your attitude toward opposition? That's opposition in the broad sense, I mean, not just the people of total negation who believe that the better things are the worse it is, and that when things are at their worst the people are going to be happy. I do not even mean the people who are, let's say, onlookers who have not yet decided and who say neither yes or no. What I mean is what I would call the office opposition, that is, people frequently in important posts, well, in short, the conservatives, the hardliners, the people who are averse to any reforms, because they fear that at that moment they will become unnecessary, that the reform will simply sweep them away. What is your attitude toward them?

[Jaruzelski] I would not call them opposition. I would rather call them an impediment to necessary transformations. It is difficult to point out where they are. These are not easy things to determine. There are often people who declaim in a very up-to-date and innovatory fashion but simultaneously they are marking time. And there is the man who observes certain principles but at the same time he is a man who solves problems. There is no set formula.

First and foremeost, we have to create such institutional conditions, such economic conditions that would make those who have tendencies to restrain and impede things feel bad and drop out of circulation. There is a well-known saying by Lenin to the effect that no one is a bureaucrat by nature but by circumstance.

[Questioner] I keep wondering when are we going to get rid of all these great slogans hanging over the roads and on work enterprises. They are literally dripping with big words, but when you read them the content is generally very hackneyed and uninteresting. Who thinks them up, anyway?

[Another questioner] Wojciech, I think they are still from the previous era, you know. [passage indistinct]

[Jaruzelski] I too am a resolute opponent of this kind of euphoric decorations. They are remnants, either physical or perhaps even still mental. [laughter] This has to be eradicated; it is unnecessary. Of course, there are the healthy slogans, educational posters, especially posters. After all, Polish posters have a superb tradition, which also have educational value, which do get through to people. But both their form and their content have to suit the perception of people of today.

[Questioner] General, excuse me, let us perhaps return to the reform. We are all, after all, a little afraid of the second stage. There is talk of tightening our belts, except that we cannot see the notch we are supposed to tighten them to. Since our program, in which we are all taking part, is called "Frankness for Frankness", could you be frank toward us and, as head of state, share with us your fears regarding the second stage?

[Jaruzelski] My fears primarily concern to what extent society is going to be ready to support this orientation. And then to consistently implement it. For I shall tell you openly: I have fewer fears as to the factors acting from above, for this is after all easier to program, to define, to control. When certain systems are accepted, they will transfer responsibility much further downward. As we have already said: they will decentralize. The self-managements will acquire an enormous role in connection with this. The question is: to what extent these rigors connected with the reform...[Jaruzelski changes thought] Please do not confuse rigors with (?denials). For if some one at work is going to be more efficient, more disciplined, making better use of working time, then this is no torment, it is a duty. It is a duty. And here after all we have enormous reserves.

I do not know if you know that in Poland the average number of working hours per week is 34, whereas in Japan, the FRG, and the wealthiest countries it is 40 or more.

[Moderator] The majority of our readers [as heard]in letters to you general—that is, in their phone calls above all to you, ask about the actual deadline for (?solving) the housing question.

[Jaruzelski] The solution of the housing problem is, I would say, a very fluid concept, for the wealthiest country in the world, the United States, also has not got the housing problem solved. For millions of people throughout the States live out on the streets, and they sleep there. I saw it in New York. There are homeless people. Of course, it is another system, another country. But is the housing question solved even though there are empty apartments there? There are advertisements for vacant apartments. Just buy one! After all, we have a different approach. It cannot be the case that there is a vacant apartment, yet someone has nowhere to live. In Poland there is a physical shortage of apartments. And so in this respect our situation is more difficult.

Moreover—please forgive me a little frivolity, but in this period of the last 6 years, we make use of this dimension in today's discussion above all—in Poland 6 million children have been born. Well, you can say that we have a net figure of 3 million extra Poles during the period of deep crisis. I think that this is not the achievment of the pensioners! It is rather let's call it the marital activity of the generation you belong to. This, naturally, intensifies certain problems. The (?calculations) immediately begin to look different, and so I would hesitate to say when it will be resolved definitively, because how should one understand it? There will never be a moment when it will be resolved, because there will always be someone waiting, for someone will have an extra child. He will want to enlarge his apartment and improve the situation. After all, there are no cases of people sleeping under bridges in Poland. They are cooped up in terrible conditions, and the point is to improve those conditions.

[Questioner] As regards the solution of this problem, young people would feel it had been resolved when a young married couple waited 5-7 years for an apartment and not as much so as today.

[Jaruzelski] That is feasible. It is feasible, of course, in the nineties.

[Questioner] In (?Sochaczew) where we live a few crazy people founded the Wiktoria youth housing cooperative. Others joined it, and in 30 months we constructed 140 dwellings by the traditional method of bricks and mortar, with walls 50cm thick. Then, General, a black cloud appeared over the cooperative, that is, a lack of materials, a lack of construction materials from the central dispatcher, materials like cement, lime, sheet metal, hydraulic connecting rods. I'd like to ask how you, General, see the future for youth cooperatives like ours in the second stage of the reform?

[Jaruzelski] We have great hope in youth cooperatives in housing construction. There are some centers, some cities, particularly Szczecin, I can say here, where this is achieving excellent results. There, a large percentage of newly commissioned buildings—Szczecin is one of the leading cities in this respect—are constructed by youth cooperatives. This is not the only way but is a very important one, which creates great opportunities.

I wouldn't like to take the place of the new minister of land use management and construction. The Sejm appointed a [word indistinct] energetic, competent, enlightened person to that post: Minister Ferensztajn, who has got off to a very keen start, and who presented the fundamental directions of changes at a recent Politburo meeting, proposing, he said, even extraordinary means, exceptional means of various kinds. It is valuable that he formulated his proposals using the proposals and initiatives of the trade unions and PRON to a considerable extent too, and of the youth organizations, particularly the ZSMP. We want to achieve the target of housing construction at a rate of 300,000 dwellings annually, which would make it possible to greatly reduce the waiting.

[Moderate] Now I would like to ask a village elder to speak, seeing as I recently got into trouble with a village elder. This young village elder, where is he?

[Jaruzelski] That's right, go ahead please.

[Questioner] Well, I am a village elder, a farmer, you see. I come from Opole Voivodship. Since September we have had a grim situation with diesel oil, diesel fuel. Now I learn from a friend in Olsztyn that there is no shortage of diesel oil there. You can come, get even 1,000 litres and get down to working the fields. Whereas in our area people have been lining up day and night. We had to produce the beet where, of course, you have strict deadlines, when you have to deliver the beet, irrespective of the fact that there is no diesel oil. They are not interested in the least. You lose about 3,000 on one trailer like that.

[Moderator] Indeed. In our work we forget that people living in the countryside are also our viewers. Things that happen there are sometimes a right nightmare. The village of (Hanki) in the parish of Miroslawice, Pila Voivodship writes: We are living as if in the Middle Ages. The only store in our village has been closed for 2 months. What is the parish office doing? We could, of course, cite more such examples.

[Questioner] I fear for my future in the countryside, that I am investing money there now, and I don't know what the future holds. [Jaruzelski] Do not fear for your future in the countryside. That future is secured. I know about the situation which you have described, even if not in detail. I regret very much that things are in such a state that there is a shortage of this material, this diesel oil. I am not trying to make excuses, but we probably all remember what the winter was like and how much more fuel of this type in various forms was used and also, I suppose you would confirm this, being a farmer, that much more of it was used up during the harvest, for the drying of grain, for the greater consumption in tractors, combine-harvesters and so forth. I understand that as far as you are concerned this is no explanation because you have to plow the land and it is almost a tragic problem. I am just saying that very difficult things arose here on a wider scale, and unfortunately we are still short of money for additional purchases. But I know that certain measures are being taken there and things should improve.

Moderator, you said that it transpires from a letter that somewhere a store has been closed for a month and what is the chief executive officer doing in that regard. Well, first, as far as the chief executive officer is concerned, his statutory—I emphasize, the statutory—superior is the people's council, the parish people's council, which can refuse to accept his accounts and which can hold him responsible in every way. The council [word indistinct] through a given milieu.

Another thing: rural stores are primarily stores of the peasant self-aid parish cooperative, a cooperative to which the farmers themselves belong. I once had such an incident, I admit. I was in a village. I went to the parish cooperative store, and the farmers gathered around me and a very sharp criticism of the quality of the bread began, of the quality of the bread in that cooperative. Who bakes the bread? It's our bakery. Whose bakery is it? The parish cooperative's. Which of you are members of the cooperative? One, two, three people. And you (?come) to the premier, for I was still the premier then? We must break that, because if we don't then there will really be a sort of ping-pong, which will do the country no good.

[Questioner] Will we have new electoral regulations, and if so, would you give a general outline, at least, of the concept [word indistinct]? Second, will we have any changes in the constitution? Third, will the opposition, which is at the moment an illegal opposition, be able to count on any legalization, or will it be able to count on any institution?

[Jaruzelski] I could say a great deal on this subject, but I'd like to point you and all of you to the Politburo report for the sixth plenum. Everything is set out there in a very detailed manner. I can't do it any better. I would again send you to that material and with a slightly bitter comment, I admit, that I often come across this, that questions are asked and problems are put, which either open doors which are already open or show in some other way that source material has not been read. I know there is some reluctance to read lengthy political material, but it is sometimes very important. It decides the country's future. This document is one of those, and I don't want to take up (?too much) time now. I can just say briefly: there will be changes in the electoral regulations. They are, in fact, announced there. There will be work either on a new constitution or on profound changes in the constitution, and this is also outlined there as a certain offer to be examined, to be discussed. And finally, an attitude is assumed on what forces can count in our country on free, constructive activity, and which forces must be subject to curtailment. [Questioner] I think that the case with this democratization is as follows. I just wonder, and I consider that we as Poles, as a nation, are not capable of doing the job under democracy. It seems to me that we need someone who will take firm control of us. [passage indistinct] And ultimately, in order to achieve anything at all, for all we hear is discussions, polemics. [passage indistinct]

[Moderator] General, that is the colleague who has finished military service.

[Jaruzelski] Yes indeed. [words indistinct]

[Questioner] I think that the greatest threat for this democracy which you head, General, is precisely part of the parish and voivodship apparatus of power. I have the impression that some of these people are behaving like my nag [gniady], I mean, my horse. He is 20 years old. The old nag for all its life has walked on the left side of the shaft. One day I hit upon the idea: how will be behave on the right side of the shaft? He kicked, started to bite, and would not take even a single step forward. I the poor driver, resigned, had to switch him over to the left.

I am saying this not in order to provoke merriment or something, but it is simply a reflection arising from my whole life that I have spent in a Polish province, in a Polish parish and a Polish voivodship.

[Jaruzelski] I would however prefer to use comparisons connected not with horses but with people.

[Questioner] [word indistinct]

[Jaruzelski] Yes. [laughter] Sorry, but I do not know your life story. I think that your dad once only knew how to (?use) horses and a cart and then moved to using a tractor, didn't he?

[Questioner] [words indistinct]

[Jaruzelski] But there are a great many such people who moved over on a massive scale. That means that every man changes in the process of a certain civilizational, historical development. This is an elementary principle. There are those who cannot adapt. But one cannot say in advance that if someone was in a certain setup at one time, then that is only a man who is now only good for being launched to the moon in a rocket. There would not be enough rockets. So it is necessary to do everything for these conditions, this democratic infrastructure, to be strong enough so that he operates within it in accordance with its nature, whereas those who reveal themselves as applying the brakes must (?start) running.

That is why there are the people's councils. The new regulations will create in this respect greater possibilities, and this is the only way.

[Questioner] I just wanted to ask such a question: The 1980's showed that something is not quite right with the community of socialist states. During the years 1980 and 1981, we suddenly were left alone. Thus I have the question: How does this community look? Are we really not alone? Is it that everyone arranges his own business; or, really, is there such a thing as that socialist community?

[Moderator] The tourist (?sphere) has brought us a few examples.

[Questioner] Quite.

[Moderator] Well, not the best examples of friendly cooperation.

[Jaruzelski] Only I did not really understand why we, in 1980 or 1981, found ourselves in a situation which demonstrated that we have no friends. I can give a small example: in January 1981, that is one can say in an already very heated political period in Poland, the Soviet Union in actual fact gave us—yes, gave us, with no return—a loan, that is a gift, of $465 million. We received above-plan deliveries of meat, grain, many other items, which after all do not exist in excess. We also achieved understanding in this respect from other countries. It is also difficult to be suprised about the fact that they were concerned about our situation. One can hardly be suprised. Everyone who sees a fire on their doorstep would get worried.

Now this foreign tourism aspect. Well, it primarily arises from the fact that we are a very commerical people, very commerical.

[Questioner] Is that good or bad?

[Jaruzelski] In this respect it is not good.

[Questioner] What do you think about the latest performances by our football players which, to put it briefly, were embarassing, and this too perhaps in a sense affects the mental disposition of perhaps some of the public?

[Jaruzelski] Just like every Pole interested in sport I regret very much that generally our sport has recently been going through a serious crisis. This should not be related just to a shortage of resources because, generally speaking, our sport is quite well equipped. There are countries poorer than us in Europe and especially outside Europe which achieve great successes. I hope you are not expecting me to pole-vault, [laughter] or run 42 km. These things rather belong to the rights and expectations connected with the age you represent. Football is the most spectacular sport discipline, and over many years we had all got used to the successes of Polish football. That is why we are worried about the crisis it is going through. I talked about this with Boniek when I was visiting Rome. He is, after all, a very intelligent man. There are all sorts of formulas, everyone has some idea about improving our football. I do not take this upon myself. I don't know enough about it. I watch it very rarely, especially now, when the standard is as it is.

[Questioner] I would like to talk about children from families of alcoholics, drug addicts, and about children from families which are apparently normal but where no one pays any attention to the children and no one cares about them. How many of these children fall to the so-called social fringe? How many of them destroy their life, destroy their situation? Does this hurt you? Do you see any cure for it? And do you, as the chairman of the Council of State, think that you can do anything about it?

[Jaruzelski] It hurts me very much. After all, this concerns undeserved tragedies, especially where the children are concerned. It is not their fault that they find themselves in such conditions, that their parents are like that, that that's how the circumstances worked out. You know that our state does deal with and interests itself in these affairs. There are a great many children's homes. There are a great many other solutions which create certain conditions for the handicapped. But there are presumably already such fringes of degeneration where this indeed is very difficult. This to a large extent is related to alcoholism. I was even surprised that this question had not been raised here, but this is one of our most horrible tragedies. If I may speak of some great unsatisfied need among the things that I have managed to achieve so far, it is precisely the minimal progress, because there has been some progress, in the area of struggle against alcoholism. It is a very hard and difficult matter, and we have to apply ourselves to it even more vigorously than we are doing now.

[Questioner] I would like to return to the person of John Paul II. After the meeting with the pope at the airport you were somewhat nervous when you emerged. What happened there?

[Jaruzelski] Are you a psychologist, by any chance? [laughter]

[Question, laughing] No, But I watch people.

[Jaruzelski] Just an amateur observation, was it?

[Questioner] That's right [words indistinct].

[Another questioner] [words indistinct] there were rumors that you had quarrelled with John Paul II.

[Jaruzelski] It was a very important, very serious conversation, just like the other conversations. I had several of them concerning our country, our anxieties. I think I have already mentioned this in talking about my conversations and meetings with the primate, and in this case too we had a joint interest: Poland's destiny, its place, its position. That conversation was marked precisely by such concerns. The nervousness, if that's how it was perceived, or rather perhaps the haste because I was walking fast, arose because I was aware that a great many people had been waiting at the airport for more than 1 hour, including the diplomatic corps, the public, its representatives, and that organizationally things had worked out a little none too well. That is why I was concerned about getting to the right place as quickly as possible. That was perhaps what gave those impressions.

[Questioner] Whereas after your meeting with Primate Glemp you emerged smiling, and the communique was very concise. What lay behind those words?

[Jaruzelski] That was because this time nobody was waiting for us, so according to the principle of reciprocity...[laughter] But, joking aside, the conversation was constructive, it was substantive, and seeing as the primate and I have long known each other and we have had a great many conversations—we have probably clocked dozens if not hundreds of hours—then at some stage your contacts acquire a kind of purely personal and informal aspect, and that is why when we left that room—and that's how I understand it was perceived—we were relaxed and talking by then not about fundamental matters but ordinary daily ones.

[Questioner] You came to that meeting with your bodyguards, which is natural and which does not really surprise anyone. The Swedish example shows that the absence of such protection can lead to. This surprises no one. But in 1981 there were rumors circulating in Warsaw that along with your driver in your famous green BMW you escaped them, and that you simply do not like bodyguards. Was that true? How much truth was there in it?

[Jaruzelski] Let's start from the end. I have never had a green BMW. [laughter] No. My comrades who concern themselves with my person are very solicitous. I think that they would not leave me alone, even if I wanted to free myself from their care.

[Questioner] Where would you like to escape to, if this were to happen?

[Jaruzelski] I have not considered this for it is virtually impossible. [laughter] Anyway—you, Madam, are asking me such intimate questions—I have no sinful thoughts.

[Questioner] Do you listen to music during your leisure?

[Jaruzelski] Not too much. My daughter is very fond of music, serious music, which is not so very typical of this generation: Mozart, Bach. I confess that I do not know too much about music. That super-youth music, as I call it, that noisy shrieking music does not reach me. Perhaps I am too behind the times. But yes, music, both the serious, primarily Chopin and Tchaikovsky, as well as the more peaceful, lighter, and less noisy like Anna German. I loved her voice, her singing. But also many of our other men and women singers, including Rosiewicz.

[Questioner] Do you know the song called Mikhail? Would you like one like that to be written about you?

[Jaruzelski] I think that such a song will not be written about me. Various songs and little poems, but rather from the other point of view, as is well known. [laughter] Anyway, I do not worry about this; this also has its color. On the other hand, I liked that song very much. I sent Mikhail Gorbachev a cassette with that song. Later we talked on the subject. He liked it very much. He said that he keeps it in his family archive and asked for his thanks to be conveyed to Andrzej Rosiewicz, which I hereby have done thought not personally.

[Moderator] I am just back from duty taking phone calls in the Third Program of the radio. There were various questions. There was also a question to you, General. Here they are:

[Begin recording] [Moderator] Yes, this is the Third Program.

[Questioner] Could I speak to General Jaruzelski, please?

[Moderator] We are waiting for questions for the General. We shall pass on the questions.

[Questioner] Please record it and play it back to the General, OK? We all remember the appeal by the General for 90 peaceful days, a few years ago, I think. Now the General wants to persuade us to vote with two yesses in the referendum. But can you give a guarantee that in a few years you will not turn to Poland and that in those few years you will not have to convince some other young people of your arguments? [end recording]

[Jaruzelski] I believe that that lady to some extent replied to the question. Speaking about the 90 days, I did not get those 90 days. I almost the very next day did not have any calm. Various kinds of phenomena and processes already began, which subsequently led to 13 December. So I did not get the credit which I asked for. At present too I do not put the matter on the level of a credit; it is not a credit for the authorities. It is a chance for society, for the nation. I have had occasion to say that this will be subject to rigorous control in the implementation.

A timetable has been published in the press, particularly in the major papers, one which defines month by month the execution of the definite tasks connected with the second stage of the reform, and those responsible for these tasks. Every month there will occur a public settling of accounts. Such account-settling indeed already took place in relation to October. That is all I can say on this matter.

[Questioner] Are you not afraid of this?

[Jaruzelski] I am afraid that you are asking this question of a soldier, who ought not to be afraid by his very nature. I would say that this is not fear; it is concern. It is concern. It is an ardent desire to exploit this opportunity. If we all travel this path together, if we agree to go along this path, then I have no fears.

Before I said that, of course, for this it is necessary to win trust and support for these decisions. As for how far we succeed in this, time will show.

[Moderator] Perhaps you have some proposal for the young, for us?

[Jaruzelski] I fear that such an utterance might be interpreted as an official statement, a sort of sermon. I should very much like to avoid this, although I have never succeeded in entirely eliminating this tone during our whole talk. Please forgive me, but in adopting a stance on the various questions I naturally had to sometimes raise more general issues.

But to formulate this briefly: well, be always young, with courage, and boldness in solving new problems and in attacking them. And always be mature in your understanding and have a sense of responsibility for yourselves and for Poland. Be realists and at the same time romantics, in the sense of ennobling our life, beautifying it, but also standing on the firm ground of reality, which we must change. And change Poland, so that it should be ever better, more beautiful, more plentiful. This is our common duty and our common possibility. I should like once more, in conclusion, to strongly stress this: the possibility. We are certainly not condemned to such an existence as exists at the moment.

Today's conversation with you is very heatening for me, for even those critical opinions, sometimes even controversial, sometimes even—I shall say it openly—erroneous, bear witness to that courage of yours. [Jaruzelski continues] They show that you want to talk to the authorities, that there is no wall between us. I am saying this also as a kind of undertaking on my part to reach more frequently and more deeply the problems which concern young Polish people and to try to respond to their needs.

To wind up on a jocular note—this perhaps might not be suitable for screening—there is this very witty saying by Boy-Zelsnski, if I can remember it:

Critics and impotents

Are brothers true.

Both know how

But cannot do.

My point is that you should never be such critics. Even if you cannot do something you should always strive to get to the heart of the matter in order to change for the better the stagnant picture of the reality. Thank you very much for this interview, for all the sweat that this has cost us. I will be very happy if our discussion is going to leave traces in our common view of Poland.

[Moderator] We would like to say thank you too, and we hope that we will meet again in "Teleexpress."

[Jaruzelski] Anything is possible. Know what I mean? [laughter]

[Moderator] Thank you very much.

[Jaruzelski] Thank you very much.

Jaruzelski Returns From Hungary

LD022048 Warsaw PAP in English 1840 GMT 2 Dec 87

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 2—In the evening hours today, PUWP CC First Secretary, President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski returned from Budapest.

Communique on Visit by Australia's Hayden

AU021121 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 Nov 87 p 2

["Press Communique on Visit"—PAP headline]

[Text] Bill Hayden, Australia's minister of foreign affairs and trade, paid an official visit to Poland from 23 to 27 November at the invitation of PPR Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski.

Minister B. Hayden was received by Wojciech Jaruzelski, State Council chairman; Zbigniew Messner, chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, State Council deputy chairman and president of the "Polonia" Society. He also held talks with Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski and Wladyslaw Gwiazda, minister of foreign economic cooperation.

The Australian guest laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, toured the Old Town and Royal Castle in Warsaw, and visited Krakow and Oswiecim [Auschwitz], where he paid homage to the victims of Hitlerite genocide.

During official talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, both ministers reviewed the current state of Polish-Australian relations and determined the prospects of their further development. They also exchanged views on current international topics, especially East-West relations and the situation in Europe, Asia, and the Pacific.

They noted with satisfaction the positive development, especially in recent years, of bilateral relations based on equality, mutual advantages, and long-lasting respect and friendship between the Polish and Australian peoples. They spoke out in favor of continuing and enhancing political dialogue, which encourages better mutual knowledge and understanding and has a favorable effect on cooperation in other spheres.

They expressed the conviction that the latest visible revival of trade and economic cooperation and scientific-cultural contacts has not exhausted all the existing possibilities and needs of both countries. They agreed to seek new forms of economic cooperation, taking advantage of coproduction and other types of joint undertakings, such as joint ventures. The 200th anniversary of Australia next year will be an opportunity to animate cultural contacts. The ministers pointed out that efforts to create permanent channels for the transfer of scientific thought, especially in the sphere of agriculture, ought to be continued. They said that the existence of a sizable Polish ethnic group in Australia is an important positive factor in bilateral relations.

The ministers expressed satisfaction with the favorable development of consular cooperation. While exchanging views about international affairs, they expressed their concern for world peace, stressing the need for constant energetic activity to protect mankind against nuclear disaster and create conditions for the peaceful development of peoples. In this context, they noted with satisfaction and hope the attainment of the Soviet-American agreement to eliminate medium-range and operational-tactical missiles and the forecast of a summit meeting, indicating that the signing of a treaty would be the first step toward destroying nuclear arsenals in the history of the nuclear age. Noting the particular responsibility of the Soviet Union and United States for progress in disarmament, they stressed the need for all states and peoples, including Poland and Australia, to act for the sake of peace.

Minister Orzechowski reported on the European situation and Poland's activity aimed at reducing tension as part of the CSCE process, and presented State Council Chairman W. Jaruzelski's plan to reduce armaments and increase confidence in central Europe. Minister B. Hayden presented Australian opinions of the disarmament talks and of the development of events in Asia and the Pacific.

The talks and meetings took place in an atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. They revealed identical or similar views on the subject of many of the issues that were discussed.

Minister B. Hayden thanked for the hospitality accorded him. He invited Minister M. Orzechowski to visit Australia; the invitation was received with satisfaction.

Events in Wake of Brasov Riots Reported

AU031738 Paris AFP in English 1730 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Excerpts] Vienna, Dec 3 (AFP)—The Romanian news agency AGERPRES, in the first official acknowledgement of disturbances in the city of Brasov last month, Thursday announced the dismissal of the managers of the factory where the unrest began, and of its parent firm.

In the November 15 riots, two policemen were killed, and the local Communist Party headquarters was ransacked, in clashes between police and thousands of workers demonstrating against food shortages and pay cuts at the Seagul Rosu (Red Banner) factory in Brasov, witnesses said.

The firm's chairman, his deputies and the factory management were all ordered to step down during a recent assembly of worker's representatives at the factory, Romanian press reports said. [passage omitted]

Unconfirmed reports in Bucharest meanwhile said Romania's ambassador to the United States, Silviu Brucan, had disappeared from his home in the capital. Mr. Brucan, an outspoken supporter of Soviet-style economic restructuring, told the Western press last week that the "deprivation cup had spilled over."

"The working class is no longer ready to accept being treated as a servant," he was reported to have said.

The rioting at Brasov, Romania's second largest city, located 140 kilometers (90 miles) north of Bucharest, is believed to have been the worst outbreak of violence against the regime of President Nicolae Ceausescu in at least a decade.

In Budapest Wednesday and Thursday, meanwhile, leaflets were handed out urging the inhabitants to incite their relatives and friends in Romania to protest against the government of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceacescu, Hungarian emigres in Vienna said.

The leaflets, in Romanian and Hungarian, were signed by a group calling itself "Free Romania." They appealed indirectly to the population of Bucharest to protest against the government by "switching lights off in apartments for three minutes at 10:00 p.m.," the sources added.

There are several thousand Romanian refugees in Hungary, according to Western estimates.

In Frankfurt, a human rights group said it had arranged a food airlift to Romania after "numerous distress calls from the Romanian population."

The International Association for the Defense of Human Rights (IGFM), which coordinates individual and group aid to the Romanians, said babies were the hardest-hit in the country, because "there is almost no fresh milk."

Actions by IBRD Termed 'Unjust'

AU031915 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT
3 Dec 87

["Romania's Relations With the IBRD"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 3/12/1987—Starting from the IBRD articles of agreement, Romania is of the opinion that the credits extended by this bank should indeed support the economic growth of the borrowing countries and not hinder it, spoliate national wealth, transfer their national income to the big banks and international monopolies.

As a developing country, Romania joined the IBRD in 1972 starting precisely from the objectives included in its articles of agreement to assist the development of the productive potential of the member countries.

Analysing on December 2 Romania's relations with the IBRD on the basis of a report of the finance minister, the Commission on Industry and Economic-Financial Activity of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] (parliament) noted that those objectives had not been fulfilled by the bank in its relations with Romania. On the contrary, the terms on which part of the IBRD credits were given, more particularly those after 1980, seriously prejudiced Romania: instead of actually supporting the country's economic and social development, they turned into a burden for the national economy.

Through an arbitrary, unjust and discriminatory policy towards Romania, through the automatic transfer of the effects of currency changes to borrowers alone, as well as through the bank's currency speculations, the IBRD substantially increased the debt by adding the so-called currency adjustment (some 250 million dollars). Following the increase of the debt to the IBRD through the "currency adjustment", Romania suffered negative financial effects having to pay larger amounts in principal and interest. For the credits extended to Romania, according to the currency structure in which they were received, more particularly for the credits after 1980, the interests are now bigger by up to two percentage points than the cost of the resources borrowed by the IBRD in the international capital market, including the bank's commission.

Criticizing the Romanian banking institutions for having concluded such agreements and accepting such discriminatory and inequitable practices, the parliamentary commission requested them to take concrete and immediate steps in their relations with the IBRD to give up its practice of arbitrarily adding the "currency adjustment" to its credits and taking very high interest rates, since Romania fulfils all its obligations, but it does not recognize the "currency adjustment" unjustifiably added by the IBRD and its very high rates of interest either.

The GNA commission assessed that unless the IBRD gave up those unacceptable practices, Romania would have to analyse whether or not it should remain a member of that institution. It also asked the Ministry of Finance and the banking bodies to conduct talks with the IBRD so that it may find acceptable solutions with a view to compensating the prejudice created to Romania. The commission also demanded that no more payments be made to the IBRD until all the issues with that body have been made clear.

The commission also stressed that Romania would work for paying in time all its obligations to the banks and financial-banking institutions which do not resort to such unjust, inequitable practices.

Further Reportage on Visit by Syria's al-Asad

Ceausescu Dinner Toast

AU031655 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Dec 87 pp 1, 3

[Report on "President Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast" at dinner given by him for Syria's President Hafiz al-Asad in Bucharest 30 November]

[Text] Comrade President Hafiz al-Asad, esteemed Syrian guests, Comrades and friends: I take particular pleasure in greeting you, esteemed Comrade President, and your aides as guests of Socialist Romania and, within this framework, to warmly welcome you to our country.

The visit you are paying to our country is a further expression of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the RCP and the Syrian Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and between our countries and peoples and of the common desire to continue to develop them on the lasting basis of full equality and mutual esteem and respect.

I am convinced that the current meeting will conclude with positive results and will contribute to further expanding and diversifying bilateral and international relations between our parties, countries, and peoples.

We believe that all necessary conditions exist so that, through joint efforts, relations between our countries will develop more and more in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and in other areas.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then said:

By focusing our concerns on the resolute implementation of the plans and programs for our country's socioeconomic development, we also pay particular attention to the international situation and we participate actively in efforts to seek a constructive solution to the complicated problems facing our era and to firmly promote a policy of peace and cooperation.

The international situation continues to be serious and very complicated, especially as a result of the arms race, of the aggravation of conflicts and sources of tension, and because of the imperialist policy of force and dictate, and of interference in the domestic affairs of other states. The huge arsenals of nuclear weapons, which are stockpile ain the world, require a new way of thinking and of dealing with the problems of peace and war; this way of thinking must move from the fact that a world war is unacceptable because it would inevitably turn into a nuclear catastrophe which would destroy our civilization and life itself on our planet.

Under these circumstances, the basic issue of our time is halting the arms race and moving toward firm measures for disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensuring the peoples' supreme right to a free and dignified existence, to life, and peace. It is more necessary than ever that all peoples, realistic and peace-loving forces everywhere cooperate as closely as possible in the struggle to eliminate the nuclear danger and to safeguard peace. The imminent Soviet-American summit meeting and the signing of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range and operational-tactical missiles from Europe and Asia marks an event of historic importance. However, considering that after the signing of the treaty, large stockpiles of nuclear weapons will still exist, it is necessary to continue to intensify the united struggle of peoples and of the forces of peace everywhere to take new steps on the road to nuclear disarmament and to completely eliminate nuclear weapons throughout the world.

It is also necessary to determinedly move toward substantially cutting conventional and classical [clasice] weapons, troops, and military expenditures. Taking concrete action in this respect, Romania decided last year to unilaterally move—on the basis of a national referendum within the framework of which all our people had their say—to a 5 percent cut in its weapons, troops, and military expenditures.

Our country favors and works to achieve broad cooperation among the Balkan countries, to turn this area in an area of peace, without nuclear and chemical weapons, and without foreign troops and military bases. We support the creation of denuclearized zones, without chemical weapons, in the north and center of Europe, in the Mediterranean, and in other parts of the world.

Referring to the conflicts that exist in the world and especially to the Middle East situation, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said:

We believe that the current international situation requires increased efforts and actions to solve all conflicts and disputes between states by peaceful means and negotiations. Our country has advocated and continues to advocate a global, just, and lasting solution to the Middle East problem on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories and the settlement of the Palestinian people's problem by recognizing their right to self-determination and to creating their own independent state, and on the basis of ensuring the security, sovereignty, and integrity of all states in that area. In light of latest developments, we believe that increased efforts are necessary to organize, as soon as possible, an international Middle East peace conference under UN aegis, which should be attended by all sides concerned, including the PLO—as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—Israel, and the permanent members of the Security Council.

We express our concern about the continuation of the war between Iran and Iraq and about the particularly dangerous situation that has been created in that area. We advocate the urgent cessation of military hostilities, which have caused so much damage and suffering to both people, and a firm move to negotiations to settle the problems between the two states by peaceful means.

President Nicolae Ceausescu then said:

Intensified efforts are also necessary to achieve a global solution to the problems of underdevelopment, including the problem of the inordinately high foreign debts of the developing countries, and to establish a new international economic order based on equality and equity, which will favor a more rapid progress of all countries, particularly of those lagging behind, and ensure the balanced development and stability of the world economy. In this sense, we believe it is necessary to organize, within the United Nations, an international conference, which should be attended by both the developing and developed countries.

We are for the active participation of all states—on a completely equal footing—in the international activity and particularly for the participation of the small and medium-sized countries, the developing and nonaligned countries, which make up the great majority of the states in the world and are directly interested in a policy of cooperation, independence, and peace.

We work with great determination to enhance the role of the United Nations in the international arena and in solving all world problems with the participation of all states.

Being convinced that the visit you are paying to Romania will mark a new and important event in further strengthening Romanian-Syrian cooperation, I want to toast:

—Friendship and Cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples;

—The health of President al-Asad and of our Syrian guests;

—The health of all of you! (loud applause)

Joint Communique

AU022022 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1721 GMT
2 Dec 87

["Joint Communique on the Official Visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania by the Secretary-General and the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 2/12/1987—Upon the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the secretary-general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, paid an official visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania over November 30-December 2,1987.

President Hafiz al-Asad was extended a warm reception in Romania, an expression of the feelings of close friendship and esteem the Romanian people and the Syrian people nurture for each other.

The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the secretary-general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, conducted official talks in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding.

Comrade President Nicolae Ceausescu informed his guest, President Hafiz al-Asad, about the intense activity for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth Romanian Communist Party Congress, for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and Romania's passage to a new, higher development stage, as well as about the measures taken for a steady rise in the Romanian people's material and spiritual standards.

President Hafiz al-Asad informed President Nicolae Ceausescu of the goals for the attainment of which Syria works with a view to carrying through the resolutions of the Eighth Regional Congress of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, to continuing the process of building a society of progress and socialism, in accordance with the tasks set in the political, social and economic areas, aiming at constructing a modern Syria and at raising the Syrian people's material and social standards.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad expressed their full satisfaction at the broad and manifold growth of ties of friendship and fruitful cooperation between Romania and Syria, as well as the belief that that met the major interests of the two countries and peoples, the cause of peace and cooperation worldwide. Moreover, the presidents of the two countries underscored the determination to work for the further development and amplification of those relations in all areas according to the principles of fully equal rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs.

During the talks special stress was laid on the importance of the meetings between the two presidents, of the understandings reached on those occasions, which play a deciding role in the growth and strengthening of bilateral links on multiple planes.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, and Hafiz al-Asad, secretary-general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, underscored the significance of the friendly relations between the two parties for the development of the Romanian-Syrian cooperation as a whole, and expressed their joint wish to consolidate and expand those relations in future.

Emphasis was also placed on the necessity of boosting the cooperation between the governments, parliaments and mass and public organizations in the two countries.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad were appreciative of the results of collaboration in science, culture and education, and expressed the wish to broaden and enrich it in the future.

During the talks special attention was paid to bilateral economic ties, and emphasis was placed with satisfaction on the achievements in this sphere.

The two state leaders pointed to the need to better use the possibilities of increasing commercial exchanges and identifying new domains and goals of economic cooperation, in harmony with the two countries' economic potential.

During the visit, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, and the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, signed a programme-agreement on the long-term development of economic, technical and scientific cooperation and of commercial exchanges between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Syrian Arab Republic.

A protocol was also signed on commercial exchanges between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic for 1988 and 1989, as well as a convention on the avoidance of double taxation on incomes and property between the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad expressed their deep concern over the maintenance of a serious and complex situation in the world following the furtherance of the arms race, of the nuclear one in particular, the persistence and even sharpening of conflicts in various parts of our planet, the continuation of the imperialist policy of the use and threat of force, of interference in domestic affairs and violation of some states' independence and freedom, the deterioration of the world economic situation, especially that of the developing countries.

The Socialist Republic of Romania and the Syrian Arab Republic hold the view that the halting of the arms race, a passage to specific measures of disarmament, nuclear first and foremost, the safeguarding of life on earth are fundamental problems of our days.

The presidents of the two countries are firmly for the elimination of all nuclear weapons from the planet and, in this respect, they back the Soviet Union's proposals for a phased-out liquidation of those weapons until the year 2000. Furthermore, it was considered that the forthcoming Soviet-American summit and the signing of the accord on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles would provide conditions for the conclusion of further accords on the complete elimination of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction from Europe and the world over.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad underlined the need to stop nuclear tests and the actions for space militarization, and considered that firmer steps should be taken toward fulfilling a complex disarmament programme, which should include, beside the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons, the banning and destruction of chemical weapons, a substantial cut in conventional weapons, troops and military spending. The resources released after taking such measures would be used for the socioeconomic development of all states, of the developing ones in particular.

Romania and Syria think that the disarmament process must be linked to the elimination of aggression and occupation, to the abolition of racism and colonialism.

The presidents of the two countries surveyed the situation in Europe and reiterated the importance of the successful conclusion of the Vienna conference, of agreement on a comprehensive and balanced document apt to contribute to promoting disarmament, developing collaboration in the economy and in other domains, to building up confidence, security and peace in the world.

The importance was also stressed of consolidating peace, developing collaboration and good neighbourliness in the Balkans, the transformation of the area into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of troops and foreign military bases. Romania and Syria declare for the creation of such zones in the Middle East, the Mediterranean and other parts of the world as well.

The presidents of the two countries showed special concern over the serious, tense situation in the Middle East following the maintenance of Israel's occupation of Arab territories, the non- application of the UN resolutions and the disconsideration of the Palestinian people's inalienable rights.

Examining the latest developments in the area, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Syrian Arab Republic stressed that a global, just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved but on the basis of Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem, and the Palestinian people's reinstatement to its national rights, in accordance to the UN resolutions.

The presidents of the two countries called for stepped-up efforts on an international plane for the settlement of the Middle East issue, and were for the calling, to that end, of an international UN sponsored conference, to be attended by all the sides concerned, inclusive of the Palestine Liberation Organization as well as the Security Council permanent members.

Surveying the situation in Lebanon, the two presidents resolutely declared against the maintenance of a part of that country's territory under Israeli military occupation, and against interference in its domestic affairs. Emphasis was placed on the need to take firm steps for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon, for the full observance of its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, of the UN Security Council resolutions. The two presidents are also in favor of the achievement of a broad national reconciliation among all the Lebanese political and social forces, for the political, negotiated and democratic settlement of their differences and divergencies with a view to safeguarding Lebanon's unity and independence and reestablishing internal peace and tranquility.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad showed concern over the possible extension of the war between Iran and Iraq owing to the involvement of other countries, and consider that the American military presence and other foreign military forces in the Gulf leads to mounting international tension. Romania and Syria are for the withdrawal of all the foreign military ships in the Gulf, for the maintenance of stability and security, and the ensurance of free navigation in the area.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad reasserted Romania's and Syria's solidarity with the African peoples' fight for the abolition of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racial discrimination from the African continent, and condemned the policy promoted by the racist Pretoria administration which aims at destabilizing the situation in the neighbouring countries as well as the repressive measures against the majority population in South Africa.

Expressing their countries' active support for the just fight of the Namibian people, under the SWAPO leadership, for the winning of national independence, the two state leaders stated for the application of the United Nations' pertinent resolutions.

The president of Romania and the president of Syria, showing concern over the increasing world economic crisis, underscored the necessity of establishing a new international economic order and re-setting interstate economic relations on just and democratic bases, as an imperative demand of ensuring world peace and security.

It was assessed that firm measures should be taken to find global, political and economic solutions to the developing countries' external debt problem, which should take into account the debtor countries' development level and their needs for socioeconomic progress.

President Nicolae Ceausescu and President Hafiz al-Asad consider that the complex problems facing mankind require an active and equal participation in the international life of all states, irrespective of their size and social system.

Romania and Syria assess that the United Nations Organization is the most appropriate international forum for the debate and settlement of problems nowadays, and are for a growing role and efficiency of the UN, of other international bodies, in the interests of all the world nations, of peace, progress and collaboration worldwide.

The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the president of the Syrian Arab Republic pointed to the important and positive role of the Nonaligned Movement in solving the current international issues, in the fight for peace, liberty and national independence, and appreciated the significance of the resolutions endorsed at the Harare summit.

The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and the secretary-general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, were highly appreciative of the new summit dialogue and expressed full satisfaction for their talks and understandings, considering them to be another valuable contribution to deepening the links of friendship and collaboration between the two countries, in the interests of the Romanian and Syrian peoples, of the cause of peace, progress and cooperation throughout the world. Joint determination was expressed to continue summit meetings and exchange of opinions.

President Hafiz al-Asad keenly thanked Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the friendly Romanian people for the warm reception and special hospitality extended to him during the visit.

The secretary-general of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, Hafiz al-Asad, invited Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Elena Ceausescu to pay an official visit to the Syrian Arab Republic. The invitation was accepted with pleasure, and the date of the visit is to be set through diplomatic channels.

TANJUG Condemns Sweden for Releasing Convict

LD031433 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1230 GMT 3 Dec 87

["Pyrrhic Victory of Terrorism (Feature)"—TANJUG headline; by Branko Stosic]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 3 (TANJUG)—Swedish Ambassador to Yugoslavia Jan af Sillen thinks that Yugoslavs are strange people. He has publicly wondered why they are so excited about such a trifle matter as the release of a convict.

However, the convict, sentenced for killing the Yugoslav ambassador to Sweden, is terrorist and member of the Croatian Nationalist Movement (Hrvatski Drzavotvorni Pokret—HDP) Miro Baresic.

In a Swedish television programme for Yugoslavs Ambassador af Sillen said he simply could not have imagined that ordinary people in Yugoslavia, who "really have nothing to do with relations with Sweden," would ask him "how could Swedish authorities make such a decision."

However, there are many reasons for such bewilderment and indignation.

Let us recall that Miro Baresic and Andjelko Brajkovic, members of the Ustasha organization "Black Legion," raided the office of Yugoslavia's ambassador to Sweden Vladimir Rolovic. They tied up the seriously wounded and unconscious ambassador and held him for one hour until the arrival of the Swedish police, when Baresic fired three bullets at Rolovic, killing him on the spot.

Baresic and Brajkovic were later sentenced to life imprisonment, and their three associates to prison terms. The sentences were confirmed by a higher court and finally, on September 24, by the court of appeal.

Sixteen years later, on December 10, 1987, Baresic is to be set free. Of the 6,088 days between the assassination on April 7, 1971 and his release on December 10, 1987, Baresic actually spent only nine years in prison, or to be more precise 3,285 days.

In the meantime, Baresic and Brajkovic managed to escape from prison, to be captured again and to be released in exchange for hostages...After that, Baresic assumed another name and lived for almost eight years as a terrorist and mercenary until the United States extradited him to Sweden in 1980.

In prison again, he started to play the role of victim exposed to "pressure" by the Yugoslav Government, gradually changing his terrorist image into that of "ideological" fighter against communism, for the "liberation of the Croatian people", for the "Destruction of Yugoslavia as occupier of Croatia." This was followed by publicity campaigns in the Swedish media and statements by anti-Yugoslav and anti-communist oriented public figures in Sweden, including some high officials.

The decisive factor for the Swedish authorities—the Prison board, the Correctional Board, the Justice Ministry—was that Baresic "renounced" terrorism, i.e. he vowed he would not undertake terrorist actions on Swedish territory.

He never repented the brutal killing of an innocentman. He said he was only "sorry" because he did it in Sweden. That is probably why there is understanding for Baresic's extremist views on Yugoslavia.

So, Baresic is "quiet and exemplary," but not a terrorist, otherwise he would not be released. He is only fighting against communism and Yugoslavia. Since the "fight" would not take place on Swedish soil, terrorism is not involved.

Is it really possible that the Swedish public and authorities can tolerate, and thus accept and indirectly back Baresic's claims that the "Croatian people is enslaved" and "Croatia occupied by Yugoslavia."

Not a single Swedish paper or television programme has ever supplemented Baresic's statements by explaining just who were the Ustashas glorified by Baresic and his followers as "national heroes."

Nobody in Sweden recalls that fascist and pro-Hitler Ustashas killed hundreds of thusands of Serbs, Jews, Romanies and members of other non-Catholic nations, and that they now continue this "tradition" by acts of terrorism against a sovereign state. After all, it should be also borne in mind that pro-ustasha terrorists were listed as suspects in the assassination of Swedish prime minister Olof Palme.

The Swedish Government can plead "not guilty" because whatever has happened in connection with Baresic is doubtless in accordance with the Swedish law.

Irrespective of this, however, Sweden owes some explanations. How, for example, could Baresic's behaviour be described as "good and exemplary" thus giving him the right to request an early release. The decisive factor in this regard could certainly not have been his escape after barely a year of imprisonment, because any other court in the world would then increase his sentence rather than mitigate it.

If Baresic is now so "good and exemplary", why does he have to seek asylum outside Sweden. He surely deserves life-long hospitality when his life-imprisonment sentence has been suspended.

What political alchemy is involved in transforming Baresic, a sadist criminal and merciless killer blinded by Hated, into a "freedom fighter," and lending an "ideological" dimension to his demented terrorist act.

Does the Swedish Government truly believe — and if it does, on what grounds - that the HDP "only rallies" the so-called political opponents of the Yugoslav social system, i.e. "Croatian Patriots" of the Baresic type.

All these facts were established during the first trial when the HDP was described as the "black legion." The Palme assassination only confirms that black legions still exist.

More on Mojsov Visit, Talks in Paris

Talks With Chirac

LD031910 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 3 Dec 87

[Text] Paris, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—The further promotion of Yugoslavia's cooperation with France, but also with the other members of the EC, especially in the economic sphere, was the main topic of today's very extensive and open talks between Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Jacques Chirac, prime minister of France.

According to what the French prime minister said during the talks with Mojsov and resolutely reaffirmed in his toast at the formal luncheon at the Quai d'Orsay, France will "favour cooperation between the EC and Yugoslavia." "Chirac also drew attention to the need for French-Yugoslav relations to "gain a fresh impetus today."

Receiving the French prime minister at the Crillon hotel, the residence of the president of the SFRY Presidency during his working visit to Paris, Mojsov stressed that the interest of our country was to develop as an integral part of the European economic trends and hence the need for the consolidation of economic cooperation of Yugoslavia with France and the EC.

Realistic conditions were noted to exist for such cooperation because Yugoslavia has already created a significant technological and industrial basis which opens up prospects for its production and technological cooperation with France and also the other EC members.

Stressing that he fully understood and realized Yugoslavia's needs and its interest in such cooperation, the French prime minister noted that this was at the same time the interest of France and the other EC members. I will become personally involved, added Chirac, in seeking possibilities for the further strengthening of all aspects of economic cooperation between the countries, especially industrial and technolgical cooperation.

The French prime minister also supported the need for the broader opening of the EC toward Yugoslavia, bearing in mind the fact that the Community is one of the most important foreign trade partners of Yugoslavia.

Speaking about the long-term rescheduling of Yugoslav foreign debts which ought to ensure a more stable development of the Yugoslav economy and a new dynamism to our development, Chirac manifested special interest in such a Yugoslav orientation. Pointing to France's support in this context, the French prime minister expressed the hope that the other creditor countries would show the necessary understanding when it comes to this concept of rescheduling Yugoslav debts.

The French prime minister and the president of the SFRY Presidency exchanged toast at the formal luncheon at the Quai d'Orsay, which was attended by the other members of the Yugoslav delegation and numerous eminent French officials.

Lazar Mojsov is to receive French Foreign Minister Jean-Bernard Raimond at the Crillon hotel this evening.

Luncheon Toasts

LD032218 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 3 Dec 1987

[Text] Paris, 3 Dec (TANJUG)—Addressing his guest Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, in whose honor he gave a formal luncheon at the Quai d'orsay today, French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac stressed, among other things, that "Yugoslavia's independent position and the importance of its role in international life represents in our eyes the essential factor of balance on our continent."

Recalling with carefully chosen words the traditional friendship and centuries' long contacts between the French and Yugoslav peoples, Chirac said that despite "our differences" France and Yugoslavia very often share a joint approach to major international problems because we are both faithful to our principles: The observence of sovereignty and equal rights of all the states, self-orientation, a search for solutions which are the product of negotiations and agreements. "These are the principles, said Chirac, which ought to reign in the search for solutions to conflicts disturbing the world." [quotation marks as received]

Adding that the two largest states of our planet are taking steps toward a dialogue, which "we cannot but welcome," the French prime minister said that France and Yugoslavia as "European forces" are deeply loyal to the CSCE, in which Yugoslavia together with other neutral and nonaligned countries "has a very important and fundamental role." As Mediterranean forces we both attach great importance to the development of cooperation between the countries of that region." Chirac stressed in this connection that France, "concerned about maintaining stability in the Balkans," cannot but welcome the favorable echo which your initiative for cooperation in this part of Europe had in all the interested countries.

Dwelling on bilateral, especially the economic cooperation of France and the EC as a whole with our country Chirac said:

"I know to what extent this topic is in your hearts and I can guarantee you that the French policy is oriented to favouring cooperation between the EC and Yugoslavia. At the same time I welcome the participation of Yugoslav enterprises and research centers in a number of projects within the framework of the Eureka program."

Judging that our bilateral relations need "a new impetus today," Chirac added that despite the fact that our commodities' exchange is not negligible, "stagnation in the exchange must give cause for concern too. "Possibilities for the improvement of such a situation exist, particularly, and I stress this, in the field of car industry, the first sector of cooperation between our countries." Chirac noted that the French side will carefully examine our new projects for cooperation in various fields.

Recalling that France is aware of the difficulties Yugoslavia is going through and also efforts which it exerts in order to overcome them, Chirac finally said that "France, whose role at the Paris Club is well-known to you, is at your disposal and I confirm that it will continue to help you within the scope of its abilities, but also in relation to the international financial institution." Responding to the toast by French Prime Minister Chirac, President of the SFRY Presidency Lazar Mojsov expressed his firm conviction that the tradition of reciprocal relations between Yugoslavia and France "has a much deeper significance" in view of the fact that, among other things, it is based on wartime alliance between two world wars." We have many other things to offer each other to make sure our friendship really becomes not only a tradition, but, in present-day conditions, part of living and life of the Yugoslavs and of the French, and of Yugoslavia and France, not only in our mutual interest, but in the interests of cooperation, peace and security in a Europe divided by diverse scars of the past," said Mojsov. He added that" good political relations, in which we are interested, require values to be confirmed by even more dynamic economic, cultural, technological and other kind of cooperation."

Having pointed out that "the right to freedom and development of everyone has to be ensured—and I am thinking here of every country, every nation, every individual," "President Mojsov expressed his satisfaction that" in precisely this city, which almost two centuries ago was the herald of a new era" he can stress "the extent to which Yugoslavia is loyal to these joint ideals and loftiest values of nations and peoples."

Lazar Mojsov paid "the biggest tribute to all the protagonists of such a significant process as the reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons in the world." "With the same range of priority which attaches to disarmament" he also mentioned the need to resolve deep-seated economic problems and development problems and to achieve an understanding between the North and the South. This is a precondition for further democratization of international relations and "for the right to resolve international problems becoming the right of all the countries—equal subjects which will not be afraid of each other."

The president of the Yugoslav Presidency then spoke of Europe. "Our historic development has left us with differences, wounds and scars, some of them deep, but the needs of further development, and especially security for us all, enjoin us—respecting the differences which are natural—to change the differences which have been inherited, and especially the artificial ones, those which have been imposed, because this is the way we perceive the path to a united Europe," said Mojsov.

"By its very nature development is preordained to be universal and not to admit borders. Is this not the time to undertake additional efforts to make Europe into a true homeland for all European nations? Perhaps the countries outside the divided groupings, to which Yugoslavia too belongs, are preordained to become the link, a factor for dialogue, which, to give an example, is what they are now doing in Vienna. However, by the same token, by virtue of their position and conviction Yugoslavia and France are perhaps called upon with their example to encourage all other protagonists of these efforts and ideas," stressed Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, in his toast.

Mojsov Republic Day Speech

AU021258 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Nov 87, 1 Dec pp 1, 3, 4

[*"We Have Support for Reform"—Borba* headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Nov (TANJUG)—On Republic Day, Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, granted a joint interview to *Borba*, *Oslobodjenje*, and Ljubljana television.

Mojsov received Stanislav Marinkovic, Ivan Misic, and Stane Grab, chief and responsibile editors of *Borba*, *Oslobodjenje*, and Ljubljana Television, respectively, and answered their questions.

This is the first time that an interview with the president of the SFRY Presidency was carried out in cooperation between the press and television. This is a verbatim report of the SFRY Presidency president's answers.

Question: It is our national holiday tomorrow—republic day. In a year characterized mainly by a critical approach, we would like you to tell us whether, in your view, we have succeeded in creating at least some kind of foothold?

Answer: On this 29th of November, 44 years since the second, historical AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] session, we must not forget that, regardless of the fact that this year we continued to criticize and have excessively been criticizing everything, Yugoslavia has, in a relatively short period in its historical development—not very long in the development of a civilized human community—achieved truly great results. These achievements have been based on the foundations established during our revolution and along the path we paved together with Tito.

Today, when confronted with great difficulties and when, with justified reason, our dissatisfaction with the present situation is on the increase, we must, therefore, neither ignore nor underestimate the results that our working people have so far achieved. Over the years and especially in recent ones, we have on various occasions reexamined our path in searching for the ways of improving our situation. We have genuinely been unremitting in our critical reexamination.

There have, over the last 44 years of our existence, been problems and great difficulties which have, however, failed and will never in the future divert us from our fundamental orientation.

Following a series of discussions and debates, we have decided, and are very determined about it, to finally launch an action in a number of essential directions. First, we have formulated our stands on the need for continued evolution in our society with the help of new constitutional changes and changes in the law on associated labor. Second, albeit with delay and without adequate preparations, a program has finally been adopted for slashing inflation, which for so long we simply took for granted. This program is intended to serve as a basis for a broad-based social action designed to reduce the inflation rate and, in the final stage, to stabilize the economy. At the same time, a program has been adopted for consolidating foreign debts. This program will be our platform in negotiations with foreign creditors.

As for Kosovo—one of the country's most serious political problems that has been in the focus of public attention for a long time—a united platform was adopted at the 9th session of the LCY Central Committee designed to enhance the efficiency in the action in order to bring about political consolidation in the province.

In addition, preparations are under way for an LCY conference that will have the fufillment of the LCY's role under present-day circumstances as its main item on the agenda. There is, however, no doubt that there are good reasons for reexamining the LC's activity in the present situation.

In other words, we have created, as you called it, a foothold, if not even more than just a foothold. I am convinced that our community possesses both strength and capacity that must be mobilized immediately in order to take advantage of the enormous potential that has been created in our development so far. However, the foothold must be constantly strengthened and not undermined or destroyed.

There are many people in the country who are prepared, as it were, a priori to reject any new proposal, any new measure, to nip them in the bud as if to show how anti-dogmatic they are. This is precisely what destroys the common basis for action. We must not allow this. Even Archimedes could not have made his historic cry "Eureka" if the ground under him were undermined. If we are to strengthen our foothold for action, we must act speedily and in a united manner. For only through our determination and preseverence can we successfully achieve what we have agreed on and outlined as our goal.

The period ahead will not be one for resting; it must be characterized by well-planned actions and measures of searching for the way out of the difficulties as it has become quite obvious that there is no more time left for delays.

Question: Four years ago, we almost unanimously adopted the long-term program of economic stabilization. Today, the issue of its reaffirmation is often raised, and it would therefore be interesting to know the SFRY Presidency's specific standpoints in view of the fact that the long-term program provides potential for serious reforms?

Answer: It is quite understandable that the issue of rehabilitating the long-term program of economic stabilization should be raised. It was adopted a long time ago, we have become used to it, and have used it as a slogan to be flippantly repeated again and again. With its initiative for changes in the SFRY Constitution, its reports about the situation in and the problems of the country presented before the SFRY Assembly in May this year, and its insistence on an Anti-Inflation Program, the SFRY Presidency wanted not to repeat the slogan, but to reaffirm its commitment to the provisions of the long-term program of economic stabilization and to ensure that they finally start to be implemented.

A more determined and comprehensive adherence to these provisions is of vital importance for our further development. For this reason the long-term program of economic stabilization remains one of the main departure points for our present and future reforms.

The main points of the recently adopted program of measures and activities for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy should, therefore, be interpreted primarily as reflecting our desire to invoke the principal commitments from the long-term stabilization program.

in particular, those sections that provide for more influence by market criteria and for further development in the economic system on that basis. In this context, the temporary and intervention measures reflect the need for joint efforts on the part of all social factors through a united action and in a short space of time to implement these commitments.

We had, albeit with considerable speed, which is being criticized by some, to start slashing the hydra of inflation. Over the years we have heard enough suggestions and views of how to halt and reduce inflation, what its causes are, and whether it is of a spending, structural, or psychological nature. We have even been told that we should let inflation exhaust itself. However, it seems that inflation managed to exhaust and beat us. We did not dare wait one minute longer and let inflation continue to rise because, once inflation rises to three digits, it is difficult to halt it.

In view of the fact that the adopted program of measures was an inevitable stage in the process of introducing real economic criteria which, as we know, threaten the standards of living and social security of a considerable number of working people and citizens, efforts have been made to implement specific measures that would facilitate and speed up necessary adjustments to new forms of economic activity and ensure that the burden of stabilization is equally shared. It is, however, obvious that these measures will have to be revised and amended in order to provide all economic subjects with equal terms in their economic activity. As we go along, these measures will be amended and corrected. It is of vital importance that we do not rely on miracles but solely on the efforts and hard work on the part of all of us, of entire work collectives, of all working people and citizens in order to increase production. It is important to understand that work alone and not apathy increases the amount of goods available for markets and exports thus creating conditions for curbing inflation.

The SFRY Presidency is of the view that a consistent implementation of the long-term program calls for—and we had this in mind when initiating changes in the Constitution—a great amount of practical work on developing a unified Yugoslav market and opposing tendencies to insularity, not only in the republics and provinces, but also in municipalities and associated labor. There should be a constant heightening of people's awareness of the need for integration within associated labor on the basis of income aimed at enabling large systems and other vital segments in our economy to function with more balance. This would not be integration of the old or enforced type, but integration at a higher level. There is, therefore, no room for fear of the return of centralism, let alone unitarism. This terminology belongs to the archives of our history.

This is where real potential lies for mobilizing the working people, associated labor, and society as a whole. This should also serve as a basis for integrating associated labor throughout the country, enabling it to free itself from barriers and limitations that at the moment are present everywhere. Let us destroy these artificial boundaries and barriers in all spheres of activity. Let us thwart any burgeoning prejudices and any attempt at invoking the ghosts of the past. What we must do is to constantly invoke the inexhaustible but real sources of our revolution. This is our path and no one will force us to leave it.

Question: Work is under way on drawing up the draft amendments to the SFRY Constitution. The SFRY Presidency launched the initiative and has explained its stand. However, the following question is often raised: In which framework will the public debate be conducted? Views on this differ: According to one, the initiative alone should be used as the framework while others maintain that, except the Constitution's principal provisions, everything else should be open to debate. Yet another view often heard is that the initiative is a narrow and completely inadequate framework for a debate.

Answer: The public debate on constitutional changes, although it has not been given a formal go-ahead has, in fact, already started and is a vital element of the democratic procedure to change the SFRY Constitution. The public debate, with a necessary amount of democratic dialogue, tolerance and respect for all arguments but without labeling or attempts to foment passions, will be conducive to the creation of an atmosphere in which it would be possible to come up with realistic solutions. It is understandable that the public debate on the draft amendments has no formal restrictions. It is open to all proposals and suggestions that are likely to contribute to a more complete, consistent, and efficient implementation of our basic, generally accepted orientations.

It must not be forgotten that the initiative, launched by the SFRY Presidency, is based on a realistic assessment that the volume and character of the constitutional changes that the initiative advocates reflects the imperatives of the present juncture. At the same time, the initiative is a specific compilation of the outcome of the public debate on the political system that went on for several years and during which we exhausted and thoroughly examined all possible directions and arguments.

In fact, the initiative reflects the maximum effect of the realistically possible changes for which all the republics and provinces have given their approval and agreement. The initiative by the SFRY Presidency to embark on making changes in the Constitution that was adopted by the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber following its endorsement by all republican and provincial assemblies, provides a basis for the work on drawing up draft amendments to the Constitution. General agreement on the draft has already been achieved as the initiative is based on the awareness of and results of a critical analysis into the functioning of our system.

Our declared goal, of course, can be achieved through various specific consitutional-legal solutions. In order to facilitate work on constitutional changes, the SFRY Presidency's initiative provides fundamental and specific proposals for changes in the normative part of the SFRY Constitution.

Where we thought additional research was needed, the initiative left scope for searching for adequate constitutional solutions while the goals and main directions, outlined in detail and, I repeat, endorsed by all republican and provincial assemblies, make it possible, in our view, to assess all those constitutional provisions that are not sufficiently precise or that are an obstacle to the implementation of the fundamental constitutional principles.

The organized socialist forces have a determined view that the Constitution's fundamental principles cannot be changed. I think that for obvious reasons we cannot accept objections that this kind of approach is dogmatic. Our approach is, in fact, based on the reality that only the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia of united and equal nations and nationalities, republics and provinces with their responsibility for both their own development and the development and progress of the entire federation, is capable of existing as an entity. This latter duty has often been forgotten or ignored, although it is contained in the Constitution's provision that regulates the role of the republics and provinces in the federation.

It is not impossible that during public debate new and better solutions will be proposed for the normative part of the Constitution. It must be remembered that even proposals that are not included within the initiative can be accepted only if there is general agreement among the bodies which, under the Constitution, make decisions about changes. No single constitutional solution can be imposed unless approved by general agreement.

The draft of constitutional amendments, together with a number of proposed alternatives, are expected to provoke a democratic and creative public debate that will be restricted by nothing except insistence on its being democratic and organized and without insufficiently thought-out proposals unsuitable for our present situation.

Is the initiative's framework too narrow for the public debate? It depends on the nature of the approach to the realistic possibilities for reaching agreements on constitutional changes. We have agreed on the initiative while other proposals will be taken into consideration only if they are endorsed by all forces of decisionmaking in the process of changing the Constitution, that is, by the assemblies of the socialist republics and socialist autonomous provinces and by the SFRY Assembly.

Question: The procedure for electing members of the SFRY Presidency has been discussed at length. Has the SFRY Presidency considered this issue?

Answer: The draft amendment regulating the selection of members to the SFRY Presidency has been formulated on the basis of a proposal contained in the SFRY Presidency's initiative. The SFRY Presidency formulated the proposal following a critical analysis of a great number of issues concerning its constitutional policy and activity and also taking into consideration the dilemmas that have come to the fore.

The principal issue—who elects members of the SFRY Presidency, is it the assemblies of the republics and provinces or the SFRY Assembly (or even through direct voting)—was met with a definite view to the effect that any change in the present method of election would entail changes in the SFRY Presidency's role and character that stem from the very nature of our federation. This was one of the crucial factors in the decision not to propose any radical changes in the manner of electing the SFRY Presidency.

However, in order to provide opportunities for a wider and more democratic debate about the composition of the SFRY Presidency, it has been proposed that consultations should be conducted within the SAWPY. This solution will establish a specific mechanism of, I would say, broad-based consultations at the national level in the process of electing members to the SFRY Presidency. This mechanism is at the moment not provided for by either the SFRY Constitution or the constitutions of the republics and provinces. Another new feature provided for by the amendments is the procedure for releasing members from their office after the expiration of their terms.

The involvement of the Socialist Alliance, as the most broad-based front of the working people and citizens at the level of the republics and provinces and through the federal conference will provide scope for more democracy in electing candidates and for expanding the candidate list. As a result, candidates will be elected who can exercise authority in fulfilling exceptionally complex and important functions.

In addition, the SFRY Presidency has also considered the possibility of electing members of the Presidency directly through a secret vote in the republics and provinces and not in the republican and provincial assemblies. This issue should be given due attention during the public debate.

Question: Relations in the SR of Serbia remain very complex. What will happen if, as a result of the disagreements, it really does come to a constitutional crisis?

Mojsov: As far as relations in the SR of Serbia are concerned, there exists a clear platform on the realization of unity and togetherness in the republic, which was adopted by the 13th LCY Congress as the ideopolitical basis for the activity of Communists and their duty, and was approved before that by the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the LCY Central Committee itself as well. We do therefore have principled and clear stances. It is thus essential to consistently realize them in the pending constitutional changes in Serbia, on the basis, that is, of their uniform interpretation. Clearly, in such a responsible task all stances must be evaluated in an argued way.

In the case of the changes in the SFRY Constitution, there is only one proposed solution that has not been agreed on, in other words a contentious issue, for which, at present, alternatives exist. However, I believe that it can be overcome very quickly without serious problems. The essence of the problem is connected with the changes in the Serbian constitution where there are still differences and disagreements surrounding several questions.

You ask what will happen if a constitutional crisis arises because of the disagreements. It is my belief that there will not be a constitutional crisis because the issues under discussion are clear and have reached the stage of expounding the stances on which agreement can and should be reached. I believe that with more argued discussion and in a democratic atmosphere this is possible. Failing this, public discussion would lead to a very heated divergence of views on issues that have been clearly identified, and this would simply hamper the reaching of an agreement that we must arrive at. If the disagreements are the result of differing interpretations of the stances of the LCY Central Committee on relations in the SR of Serbia, the LCY Central Committee should be prompt in removing differences in interpretation of its stances, which would create the bases for quickly reaching agreement.

Question: Despite all the efforts of society, Kosovo remains a dangerous hotbed of crisis and a possible source of escalation of intranational conflicts. How do you personally view the prospects of working out the situation in Kosovo and the considerably different options that are now quite publicly being put forward in the search for a solution to this problem?

Mojsov: Among the public, and frequently in certain irresponsible statements, there is talk of different options and concepts for resolving the problems in Kosovo. I would not agree that different options exist. If it is a question of such options as "an ethnically pure Kosovo," "Kosovo republic," an end to autonomy, or the establishment of military administration, I believe that is it quite out of place to even consider such kinds of options.

I would particularly like to emphasize the importance of the LCY'S ideopolitical platform that was adopted by the LC Central Committee for resolving the open issues in political consolidation in Kosovo. This is the most important factor in resolving the situation in Kosovo, and, for Yugoslavia, this is the only acceptable option, that is, the stable political and economic development of the province as a part of the SR of Serbia and of the SFRY, on the bases of full respect and regard for the rights of all nations and nationalities who live there, and their full equality.

We now have a Yugoslav consensus that the struggle for a way out of the social, political, and economic crisis in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo can be won only if it is waged by all of Yugoslavia. The working people and citizens of Kosovo should primarily participate in this regardless of their nationality, with the awareness that they can only achieve their own full affirmation and prosperity in a climate of mutual trust and full respect for legality. In other words, without any attacks on the freedom, equality and dignity of any citizen, and above all the Serbs and Montenegrins who live in Kosovo, that is by means of the further development of socialist self-management in solid, mutual coexistence with all other nations and nationalities in Yugoslavia. The strengthening of the ideological and action unity of the LC in implementing the adopted measures and overcoming all nationalisms, and Albanian separatism in particular, are essential conditions for the success of this action.

We must also resolutely appose the exponents of other nationalisms, Serbian and Montenegrin, which endeavor through manipulation to use for their own ends the suffering and justified dissatisfaction of the Serbian and Montenegrin nations in Kosovo. We must also further expand the front of activities by people who are prepared to involve themselves in the field, at the grassroots, in working and living environments, in local communities, schools, villages, and not only in forums. It is relatively easy to work in forums, but it is difficult to work among people at the grassroots.

It is very important that the process of political differentiation has been speeded up recently. Although this has been slow in coming, it is of particular political importance in the present situation. We should continue to work at this. Those who have contributed to the proliferation of nationalism and separatism and national hatred cannot remain in any responsible position, nor in the ranks of the LC. Without this, the struggle for complete stabilization will be unsuccessful, and the distrust in all cadres in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo will deepen.

A considerable contribution to the total action will be made it the efforts are abandoned to constatly establish some kind of equilibrium in the assessment of the situation, in the evaluation of the danger of this or that nationalism, instead of conducting—in real life—at every step, an open and concrete campaign against every act of illegality, violence, intolerance, and excess, which are only in the interests of the separatists and their foreign backers.

Question: The Yugoslav program of measures for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo demands of Yugoslavia many material resources and cadres who can assist the stabilization of relations in the province. Are we capable of realizing the program, if it is adopted, considering the poor material potential of the Yugoslav economy in general?

Mojsov: The adoption of the Yugoslav program of measures for halting the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo will represent a positive step in resolving the problems in Kosovo. The mere fact of its drafting is a reflection of this Yugoslav platform and firm stance that the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and the general stabilization of the situation in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo is of strategic importance for the whole of Yugoslavia, all nations, and nationalities.

It is essential that all measures and activities in the program are realistic, that is, that they procees from the objective possibilities of society, particularly as far as sources of funds for their realization and deadlines for the execution of individual tasks are concerned. It believe that one of the main reasons for the delay in the adoption of the program is precisely the justified attemplt to ensure that the measures and activities proceed from realistic material possibilities. No one these days has all that much, and it is clear that for the implementaiton of a number of the envisaged measures additional funds are necessary.

We must establish where and what the priorities are. Firstly, this is the guarantee of the full realization of constitutionality and legality and the human dignity of all citizens. This is why it is essential that priority is given to measures for equipping the state and other organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo for the consistent execution of their functions. The complete personal and property security of the members of all nations and nationalities in the province is the basic precondition for regaining the shaken trust in these organs, and this also signifies the elimination of one of the basic causes of emigration. Professional assistance in cadres from all areas of the country will certainly be necessary, but I believe that quite a lot can be done in Kosovo itself. provided that the people who work there, above all in the law courts and public prosecutors' offices, really understand that this is their prime undertaking and political task.

As for economic development of Kosovo, this program should be reliant on the whole series of major measures that have been taken at the level of the federation in the past year and a half. It should also give more encouragement to the various forms of reliance on local resources, starting with the development of agriculture and small businesses, in order to strengthen in this way the economic ties between the economic subjects and people in Kosovo itself and other areas of the country.

Question: In your view, is the SFRY Presidency doing enough—within the framework of its constitutional rights and responsibilities—to remove the lack of unity in the country? And, how do its members integrate the interests of the country in their activity? Finally, are the differences that are quite visible in other organs, organizations, and bodies of the federation reflected in the Presidency itself?

Mojsov: In accordance with the SFRY Constitution, the SFRY Presidency, in order to realize the equality of nations and nationalities, concerns itself with the balance of the common interests of the republics and provinces in keeping with their responsibilities in the realization of the rights and duties of the federation. Proceeding from just such a role, the Presidency involves itself first and foremost in questions of all-people's defense, foreign policy, state security, the solution of the most important problems of an economic nature which affect the whole country, and relations between the republics and provinces. We have particularly tried, in our assessments and stances on economic development in connection with the process of adopting the most important documents in the SFRY Assembly, to contribute to the process of coordination of stances on the basis of the affirmation of common interests. In this context, the need has arisen on occasion for the adoption of temporary measures, which are also a constitutional institution.

At the same time, the SFRY Presidency has endeavored, by holding expanded sessions with the participation of the presidents of the Presidencies of the republics and provinces, and through the participation of its individual members at sessions of the presidencies of the republics and provinces, to contribute to a constructive atmosphere in defining common policies and coordinating stances.

In our very frequent and lengthy debates that we conduct on all problems and issues within our competence, certain differences and varying proposals are certainly voiced. However, on all key issues, the SFRY Presidency has achieved a united approach.

In every country and in every system, even where the mass communication media hold sway with their powerful presence and influence, there exist organs and organizations of the state, particularly at the top, whose work takes place without the presence of the public. We endeavor to communicate with the public through general statements that is certainly not enough. But this is how it is done—and to a lesser extent—everywhere in the world when it is a question of such state organs. In our debates, in which there are often differing views, we make efforts to arrive at the highest possible degree of agreement so that in this way the SFRY Presidency may fulfill its role as a factor of cohesion in the Yugoslav community. Sometimes it is also necessary to take a vote in the Presidency on certain issues, and there are cases where individual views and reservations are picked out in the minutes.

Our efforts to reduce differences to the lowest extent and to achieve agreement, and not consensus, is legitimate, because in this way we strive to establish stances that reflect all-Yugoslav interests and at the same time, to influence in this way the constitutional organs of the republics and provinces as well. This is so that they can contribute, in accordance with the procedure laid down in the Constitution, to the more rapid and effective coordination of issues of importance for all of Yugoslavia.

Question: In the report you submitted to the SFRY Assembly on 19 October you said, among other things, that the adopted conclusions and measures that are being undertaken in order to overcome the accumulated difficulties, are showing themselves to be inadequate and have not yielded satisfactory results. Can you explain why this is so and to what extent this has been influenced by the situation in the leaderships? Do you see it in this way and how are we to rid ourselves of this legacy?

Mojsov: The manifest inefficiency in the implementation of adopted measures and conclusions has certainly been influenced by the situation in the leaderships and institutions of the system. We still have quite a bit of forum work, opportunism, weakness, and not infrequently a lack of unity. Often the readiness is lacking to bring an action to a conclusion, which is a result of both the mentality and the inertia that have been prevailing in our leaderships for a long time.

When the economic situation worsens and the standard of living falls, it is understandable that dissatisfaction grows, but it is also quite natural that expectations from the leadership at all levels also grow.

It should also be borne in mind, however, that the implementation of adopted measures and conclusions is not infrequently exposed to the powerful pressures of one-sided interests. Besides this, our objective difficulties are of such proportions that some measures that have been adopted were sometimes unrealistic in their content and had to be altered.

We should not underestimate the fact that in all our activity and the functioning of the system a high degree of normativism has prevailed, which in its own way hinders action to resolve the problems.

Finally, it is a fact that the LCY as the leading ideopolitical force, has not always nor at the right time established the ideopolitical stances that would be the basis for unity of action, and as is well known, the functioning of the system of socialist self-management as a whole has counted and counts on the very important role of the conscious subjective factor, above all the role of the LC. This role is also defined in the SFRY Constitution.

Now the question of accountability is becoming increasingly acute and in all our work we are endeavoring to put an end to the practice of irresponsible work by people in leading positions. The measures we have undertaken indicate that we have the strength in society to fight effectively against all illegal phenomena and irresponsible forms of behavior. If we consistently persevere in this direction, there will be fewer and fewer "affairs", and more and more action aimed at implementing the adopted decisions and stances.

We must rid ourselves of the legacy of deep-seated habits of discussing and analyzing the situation in our society at too great length and to no effect in a series of parallel forums, instead of quickly arriving at united stances and directions for action, and then, which is even more important, their implementation.

Question: The public is particularly sensitive to various forms of privilege. How do you view these?

Mojsov: An inaccurate picture of the various privileges in the top state leadership and forums is often created among our public. Both before and now, in certain articles in the newspapers and in certain statements, there has been talk of the exceptionally large, enormous privileges that the state leadership has.

I can tell you that as far as the SFRY Presidency is concerned, this is precisely regulated by the relevant laws. The members of the SFRY Presidency have no material earnings other than their personal income that is established on the basis of a social agreement in the federation. According to the regulations they enjoy immunity, like the delegates to the SFRY Assembly, and for their official travel and carrying out official duties they have at their disposal a car and telephone and also use other forms of transportation.

For example, the laws also regulate the receipt of gifts and souvenirs on interstate visits, and they may only personally accept them if their value does not exceed one half of the average personal income for the SFRY.

It is quite another question, however, which is justifiably raised, that in our practice, in society as a whole, certain advantages are enjoyed illegally, outside of social regulations, which should be investigated at all levels—in every work organization, every sociopolitical community, and every organ, regulated according to the relevant laws and controlled. Here we must fight with determination, energetically, and without compromise. However, this struggle should not be waged by compromising officials who hold the most responsible duties through untruthful statements, accusations, and so on.

The public will be informed about measures and activities that the SFRY Presidency, the FEC, and other federal organs will continue to take. We are prompted to, and believe that we should, also significantly restrict those advantages that under normal circumstances are a prerequisite for carrying out prominent public functions and do away with some of them completely, bearing in mind the economic difficulties.

Question: There has been a great deal of talking about rescheduling, and abroad also about the moratorium on the repayment of our foreign debts. What are your assessments and what is expected from negotiations with foreign creditors? What are Yugoslavia's further prospects in this respect?

Mojsov: First of all, I wish to stress that none of our official Yugoslav organs has ever spoken anywhere about a moratorium on the repayment of our foreign debts, but about a vital need for creating tolerable conditions for their repayment. The servicing of our debts has already cost us a great deal, above all in the fall of production, the standard of living, and so forth.

A considerable part of our foreign debts will fall due in the forthcoming period. We should repay more than half of the rpincipal of the long term and medium term debts in the next 4 years. Of course, we must also repay the interest that also falls due. Such large foreign debts represent a great burden for the Yugoslav economy. On the one hand, there is a considerable outflow of net funds that we need for the economic and social development of the country, and on the other, we have a shortage of funds for boosting development and introducing new technologies that we ought to obtain from other countries or financial institutions. This means that the outflow of over half of the foreign currency earnings is in convertible currency, even under a condition of achieving a high rate of export growth and foreign currency earnings.

At the same time, the period fixed by agreements on the rescheduling of foreign debts to enable the Yugoslav economy to carry out necessary structural changes and increase the exports and foreign currency earnings in order to ensure the repayment of credits is objectively too short, even if we had shown greater a ability on the necessary economic restructuring. We cannot pay off foreign debts at the cost of the economic and social stability of the country. For this reason Yugoslavia decided to seek understanding from its creditors for the rescheduling of the debts that fall due in the period up to the year 1995.

This demand of our country is also in keeping with the activities of developing countries, directed toward initiating a broader political dialogue for the sake of establishing an all-embracing development-oriented strategy of resolving the problem of debts, with emphasis on the joint interest and responsibility between debtors and creditors, and also in the interest of the further development of the entire mutually linked world economy, especially world trade.

Our creditors are also aware of the fact that neither the development, nor the current reproduction of the Yugoslav economy must be threatened. It is estimated that it would take about $2 billion to relieve the Yugoslav economy, therefore creating significant grounds for maneuvering from the point of view of managing the accumulation. I beleive that a solution in both sides' interests will be found by negotiating with the creditors.

Of course, the essence of the problem of our foreign debt cannot be tackled or solved through negotiations with creditors alone. Yugoslavia could overcome the present difficulties in debt servicing in a relatively short period of time providing that our economy undergoes a badly needed transformation toward increasing production and exports. An increase in the foreign currency earnings of several billion dollars, which is objectively not unfeasible, would ensure that we operate and develop under completely different conditions. We have not been able to exceed the "magic limit" of the $12 million-export of commodities for 10 years now, and we have both the capacity and know-how, as well as a qualified work force to achieve this. What is lacking is above all an even stronger export orientation and its chanelling toward the corresponding moves of the economic policy.

Question: In recent times, Comrade President, our country's international activity has been intensified. You have recently visited Latin America. You have enormous international experience. Could you tell us, objectively, what is Yugoslavia's position in the world today?

Mojsov: We maintain continuous activity on the international plane and in contacts that we continually keep with the statesmen of all countries of the North and South, East, and West and with the statesmen and eminent political officials from all continents. All these contacts have shown us that Yugoslavia enjoys a great reputation in the world, owing to both our independent domestic development and also our consistent foreign policy. In this way, a relatively small country such as Yugoslavia has secured an important place and role in the world where what counts is power, force, and size.

The ideal and aims that Yugoslavia has advocated ever since its creation, especially its struggle for peace, independence and noninterference, which are realized in the nonaligned policy, are today becoming a firm orientation of the vast majority of countries and peoples, even those countries that belong to blocs.

We must never forget that Yugoslavia has given a valuable and universally recognized contribution to the development of modern concepts of international relations. It has emphasized and fought against bloc division and called for the dividing of the bloc confrontation line, free choice of development courses, respect for the different ways of emancipation and the development of socialism, the democratization of international relations, the necessary and comprehensive development of underdeveloped countries, and the recognition of the concept of the world inter dependence.

These stands and concepts, long established and emphasized by our foreign policy, previously rejected by many as unrealistic or naive in this world of force, or even as revisionist, all these stands and concepts gain in strength and are adopted by all the objective participants in international events. They become an integral part of the development of a fresh approach to assessing modern world relations.

Because of such a principled foreign policy, Yugoslavia and its activity in the United Nations, in the Nonaligned Movement within the framework of the CSCE process, Mediterranean and Balkan cooperation, as well as North-South and South-South dialogues, enjoy a big reputation. This year, for instance, amid serious criticism and all kinds of dissatisfaction, Yugoslavia was elected into the two most important UN organs: the UN Security Council and the UN Economic and Social Council. The SFRY is also a member of numerous other equally important organs within the UN system. The role of its mobilizing actions and concepts based on the original nonaligned principles is indisputalbe in the Nonaligned Movement.

Yugoslavia has been present and engaged in all past and present activities of the Nonaligned Movement and also in all bodies set up in order to carry out such activities. The internal problems and difficulties we are faced with and which we have just discussed, especially the economic crisis, are undoubtedly a burden and have a negative impact on our international status. However, the status that Yugoslavia currently objectively enjoys in the world offers further considerable possibilities for the reaffirmation of our political, economic, and other interests. All those prophets of doom who continually predict Yugoslavia's inevitable crisis, and some have been doing so ever since 1945 or 1948, will be decieved yet again, as so many times in the past.

We must also be aware of the fact that the international status of Yugoslavia will remain largely dependent on its domestic stability and ability to achieve unity and resolve and overcome its acute problems and difficulties in a united action. This means that we must be resolved to implement what we decided, uniformly and efficiently, so that the processes of economic integration and the consolidation of the uniform Yugoslav market on the basis of the further development of socialist self-management will overcome the present particularist and disintegrational trends.

Question: Regional Economic Participation and integration in the world today is one of the bases of every true strategy of interstate relations. In this respect, what is Yugoslavia's strategy, and what are the main factors which have an effect on it? What is your opinion on the specific initiatives in connection with the European Council, EFTA, the EEC, etc? What do you think about the regional integration of our two republics into Alpe-Adria?

Mojsov: The growing objective interdependence and demands imposed by the modern phase of development, especially the new technological revolution, have an effect on the acceleration of the process of regional and other integration on the basis of realistic economic interests. Unfortunately, despite certain positive results, this integration within the framework of the developed world has, as a rule, characteristics of an egoistic bloc nature—dependence, exclusiveness, putting up various barriers, protectionism, etc—which makes comprehensive cooperation of other countries with these groupings considerably more difficult.

Comprehensive economic integration with all Europe, together with the continual consolidation of political dialogue, is and will remain one of the main strategic priorities of Yugoslavia's foreign policy. On these lines Yugoslavia is permanently interested in and also oriented toward developing the broadest possible cooperation with the European economic groupings without its position as a non-bloc, independent, nonaligned, socialist and developing country being disturbed.

Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the EEC is proceeding on the basis of the existing sui generis agreement from 1980. Participating with nearly 30 percent in our overall foreign trade exchange, the EEC today occupies a very important place in our country's economic relations with the world. However, I must say that despite the continual promotion of this cooperation we have not yet acheived that level of economic relations envisaged by the aims of the agreement. Our trade deficit with the EEC countries amounted to $1.3 billion last year, representing 87 percent of our total foreign trade deficit. For this reason we are continually advocating the improvement of conditions for the sake of broader and stable long-term cooperation and in order to find new spheres, of joint interest, to establish a greater degree of partnership and higher forms of cooperation, and to overcome our economic and technological stagantion. Tot his end we attach special importance to the opening of broader prospects for the participation of our work organizations in the Eureka projects.

I wish to say that on the same principles—on the basis of a special agreement—we successfully cooperate with CEMA, including the participation in the CEMA long-term program for scientific-technical cooperation, in the spheres of joint interest.

We consider Yugoslavia's cooperation with EFTA a significant element of diversification in our economic relations with developed countries of the West and strive to continually promote it. At the session of the joint committee for cooperation with EFTA, we recently proposed new initiatives in this direction.

It is similar with the European Council, with which we have broad cooperation in various spheres—interparliamentary, questions of the protection of environment, cooperation between cities, the sphere of culture, science and art, and within the framework of the fund for reintegration of workers in temporary employment in other countries.

The question of cooperation within the framework of Alpe-Adria has recently been unnecessarily mystified and ramatized in public. This cooperation started two decades ago by holding fairs and was further promoted by developing trade-industrial cooperation and tourist exchange between individual areas of the neighboring countires. In this cooperation we must not proceed from any obsolete concepts or those rejected by history, but from objective needs for maintaining contacts and exchanging commodities and ideas through the most favorable aspects of cooperation. On this basis, this cooperation represents a contribution to our integration with Europe.

If we look at it as a whole, numerous new processes and tendencies of cooperation and integration are underway, and there will certainly be a great deal more in the future. For this reason integration with Europe as a whole and with all European countries, neighboring and others, as well as with all the European political and economic groupings will have increasing importance for us.

Question: How would you reply to the growing criticism of the Yugoslav public about the results of our foreign policy?

Mojsov: The question can be understood in two ways. If one is to think that the Yugoslav public considers that the foundations of our foreign policy, the main guidelines and contents of its involvement on the international level are not good and need to be changed then I cannot agree that this mood is widely present. On the contrary, I am convinced that both the strategic orientations and the foundations of our foreign policy and the international performance had and have the universal support not only of our public but also of numerous other objective observers from Europe and the world.

The specific results of this strategy are reflected in the place and reputation Yugoslavia has gained in international relations, about which I have talked. It has offered and offers the broadest possibilities for the reafformation of vital interests for the independence, security, development, and comprehensive prosperity of the country and the welfare of our people.

If however one is to think about the growing interest of our public in foreign policy, which is an expression of the ever-deepening process of socialization and democratization in the creation and implementation of this policy, which presumes and requires a broader participation and contribution of the public in this sphere, including constructive criticism, then we can be satisfied with such an attitude of the public toward the SFRY foreign policy. The growing involvement and interest of the public is a great potential and can contribute to the enrichment of the forms of activity, dynamism, initiative, and better coordination of all factor which participate in the realization of the uniform foreign policy of Yugosalvia. Such form of interest, openness, constructive criticism and contribution are welcome, and we will encourage them.

Even by now, through a series of councils, commissions, and committees, whose number is impressive, in delegate assemblies and sociopolitical organizations, the federation, and the republics and provinces a large circle of scientists, experts, and political workers are involved in discussions on all fundamental topics concerning our foreign policy.

Question: What is your assessment of the present situation in nonaligned policy?

Mojsov: The reaffirmation of positive tendencies in the world, which I discussed, is largely contributed to by the effect of the nonaligned policy and the specific involvement of the Nonaligned Movement. In present international political and economic circumstances as in the past, whenever the world was faced with complex and major challenges, the movement proves to have an irreplaceable role in international relations, and the nonaligned policy proves to have true and permanent values.

The movement gathers the majority of world countries today. It has become more dynamic and more enterprising, offering specific answers to global international questions. Through its active involvement and continual struggle for peace and detente, as well as a speedier development and progress of developing countries and the world as a whole, it contributes to the transformation of unjust international political and economic relations and opens up prospects for the prosperity of all the countries and peoples.

The movement must today turn more and give priority to the resolving of global economic problems, first and foremost the problems of development and debts, considering that a resolute struggle is being waged in this respect for the economic decolonialization and the economic and social development of all developing countries.

There are views to the effect that the Nonaligned Movement is not efficient and effective because there have been conflicts between its individual members for quite some time and even armed conflicts which the movement has failed to resolve. Here one overlooks the fact that the Nonaligned Movement is not an organization, federation, or coalition of states with established instruments for implementing its policy. One also forgets that the nonaligned policy is above all a vision and platform for a new structure of international relations, which can only be achieved in a long period of time. For this reason it is certain that the role of the Nonaligned Movement will gain in importance in world policy in the future.

Question: The superpowers are approaching a new detente. Some fear that the Soviet Union and the United States will come to an agreement at the expense but behind the back of other states. Are there any indicators on the basis of which we can reach a conclusion that this will not happen?

Mojsov: We are encouraged by the orientation of the superpowers toward a dialogue and negotiations. We are on the threshold of the first agreement between the United States and the USSR on scrapping medium-range missiles from the European Continent. Though this is only a quantitatively small move, it has an exceptional overall political and psychological importance, because this is the first time in history that there have been specific steps of disarmament and scrapping of one type of weapons, without them being used.

Such an orientation meets with support among the broadest international public, which of course rightly expects that the vital interests of other countries and mankind as a whole will be respected. It is a general conviction that thi process,if it is to be continued, can represent a significant contribution to reducing tension in the world, promoting international cooperation and creating more favorable conditions for resolving the acute problems burdening mankind.

In the previous periods of detente and agreement-seeking between the superpowers there have been attempts to resolve individual regional problems, which directly affect the interests of third countries, without their participation. This has caused suspicion to the effect that this agreement-seeking would be to the detriment of their interests. However, past experiences show that such attempts not only did not lead to resolving the crises and problems, but on the contrary, they led to their even greater exacerbation.

However much the superpowers mutually negotiated or agreed on individual regional crises and problems, a just and permanent solution cannot be achieved without the contribution of the broadest international community and especially the participation of first and foremost those countries which are involved in such a conflict. The fact is that some nonaligned countries are directly involved in most of the world crises so that they too, and with them the principles from the platform of the nonaligned, will find their place in possible peace negotiations, or other attempts and actions for resolving individual conflicting situations by means of negotiation.

LCY CC Commission Discusses Economic Program

AU031925 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
24 Nov 87 p 4

[D. Bisevic report: "What After the 'Freeze'?"]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 November—The atmosphere at thesession of the LCY Central Committee Commission for Social and Economic Relations was dominated by increased concern at the country's economic and political fate, since there exists a conviction that there is no clear conception of what measures can be applied after the 6-month period of the recently adopted anti-inflation program.

Zarko Papic, general director of the Federal Institute for Social Planning, listed next year's development targets in his introductory report: The social product will increase by 2 percent, and so will industrial production, and agricultural production will rise by 4 percent. Productivity and employment are planned to rise by 1 percent, the standard of living by 1.3 percent, exports by 4.9 percent, and imports by 7.6 percent. Scope for imports is tied to debt-rescheduling and to reducing repayments to 25 percent of foreign currency earnings.

The draft resolution follows the lines of the anti-inflation program and its basic task next year is to reduce inflation. This reduction will be achieved by boosting exports and through structural changes, through strengthening the financial position of the economy and its accumulation, through the market independence of organizations of associated labor, and through real prices of factors of production, as well as through realizing the program for consolidating foreign and domestic debt. Papic said that the plan explicitly does not plan for inflation, and that if vigorous steps had not been taken, inflation would have reached 220 percent by the end of this year.

Without the Long-Term Economic Stabilization Program laying the foundations for a the reform of the economic system, the market will not be able to exert its influence. Feeling that the awareness of this is now declining, Papic recalled that there is no socialist self-management without market independence for producers.

"The foundations of the systematic changes proposed by the resolution lie in the comprehensive and consistent operation of market forces, of commodity markets, of the market in social resources, and in a specific labor market befitting socialist self-management," Papic said.

Zoran Pjanic assumed that the usual weakness—that all indicators must plan for growth in order to show constant progress—is also a feature of this resolution. He asked whether there will be a "post-May" program, especially if a liberalization of prices is to be announced for 1991. [passage omitted]

According to Kiro Gligorov, the greatest danger will appear after the 6-month "freeze", when one should not be allowed to resort to another "ice bucket." [passage omitted]

Advocating the idea that the state should become a servant of organized labor, Nikola Lapov did not agree will the proposals that one should examine why the SFRY Assembly did not achieve unity when adopting the intervention measures, because this would be contrary to the delegate system and would constitute excessive politicization. [passage omitted]

Some participants in the discussion demanded that the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the Central Committee itself should state their position on the "party" concept of the economic policy adopted at the 24th session of the Presidium. This especially relates to the principle that personal incomes should be paid out of current labor, or in other words out of earnings, and not out of net revenue, because this principle is already being abandoned.

Serbia's Stambolic Anti-Inflation Program

AU031933 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian
10 Nov 87 pp 1, 5

[Report on interview with Ivan Stambolic, president of the SR of Serbia Presidency, by Dusan Drazic of *Borba*; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] We must not bypass the fact that this is not our first crucial anti-inflationary program. In the last 7 years we accepted and attempted to implement several federal governments' anti-inflationary programs but our attempts ended in failure. We could not have achieved everything at once even in the much more "comfortable" conditions for conducting economic activities, even during the more economically prosperous years and times.... We always want everything but end up with nothing—this was stated by Ivan Stambolic, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, answering *Borba*'s question as to whether the proposed amendments to the SFRY Constitution and the Law on Associated Labor should be broadened so that the anti-inflationary program could be put on firm ground, and if this were the case, what should be expanded.

It would be logical, Stambolic said, to select one key problem and work on that problem while perhaps consciously making sacrifices in some other areas. If we agree that inflation is enemy number one and that we must check it, then we would have to be ready for some negative effects in certain production and expenditure sectors and accept and explain these consequences to the people. For, if it is utopian to think that our economic problems could be solved instantly, then it is equally if not more illusionary to think that inflation can be checked by a step-by-step policy. [passage omitted]

[Drazic] Some economic analysts are ready to claim that our action to curb inflation is already too late, and that in a few months' time one will be able to refer to any one of our programs as a "past chance." Are they right?

[Stambolic] Today the situation in the economy and political life has such a dramatic character that the political leaderships are pressed not only by the content of changes but also by imposed time limits. But the pace of change should not mislead us. May I remind you again about the recent experiences when because of excessive optimism and hastiness we wanted to combat inflation with a wrong program, but inflation has meanwhile combated us and has increased enormously. [passage omitted]

More Was Said Than Done About Kosovo [subhead]

[Drazic] Regardless of the topic of our conversation, it is impossible to not ask you about the problem of Kosovo and about the likelihood of finding a solution to this burning issue of Yugoslavia.

[Stambolic] Much has been said about the situation in Kosovo. In fact incomparably more has been said then done. It is obvious that the centers responsible for the aggravating situation in Kosovo are still active. But, we must not attempt to solve the drama in Kosovo in the way that would open and even deepen the question of the character of self-managing, democratic, and socialist society, the federal organization of the country, and the pluralism of self-managing socialist interests.

The situation in Kosovo can only be changed through public responsibility and by constitutional methods. The Presidency of the SR of Serbia has invested much effort and energy in order to, through changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia, create opportunities for fast and just action on the basis of provisions, verdicts, and other decisions reached by the courts, for the enforcement of the law. [passage omitted]

The place of the Communists of Serbia and Yugoslavia is where the Communists of Albanian nationality are waging and should wage a serious battle. We are aware how complex this battle is and that it cannot be won overnight. We want to win it quickly, as quickly as we can, but the victory must not be short-lived, it must "last."

I would also like to say that as far as the struggle against nationalism and chauvinism, particularly those types that are turning into separatism, are concerned, we are in a completely new situation in many respects. I think that uncontrolled nationalism has affected many people and social groups more than at any time since the revolution. Nationalists' actions are not individual actions any more, this is not the matter of just hostile forces any more. Let me mention in this context a new exceptionally dangerous phenomena burdened by far-reaching political consequences. This is a tendency of "ethnically pure" and extra-institutional national's rallying on an exclusively national basis. This phenomenon is being repeated and threatens to become a rule. The problem of public, widespread, and noisy chauvinist rage and intoxication has become so acute that numerous differentiations which should be urgently undertaken, above all by the LC, cannot be delayed, just like the struggle against aggressive and perfidious Albanian and any other separatisms cannot be delayed, Ivan Stambolic said in his talk with the *Borba* editor.

Strike In Bitola Engineering Works

AU021606 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Nov 87 p 10

[A. Mladenovski report: "Workers Demand Change of Management"]

[Text] Bitola, 17 November—Workers on the first shift at the "Metalec" metal-processing works in Bitola, which is a part of the "Metalski Zavodi Tito" composite organization of associated labor in Skopje, stopped work today and gathered in the factory yard instead of going to the machine shops. The cause of the work stoppage is that this organization has already been encountering grave problems for a long time, such as the poor financial state of the organization, the failure to pay workers' personal incomes for October, the extremely poor state of interpersonal relations, and the failure to solve cadre questions.

The workers today were vigorous in their demands that there should be a change of the entire management, which is no longer in a position to lead the organization. On the long list of unsatisfactory cadres are: Metodija Petrov, general director of the organization; Trajan Kotevski, deputy general director; Krste Iskov, director of the "Filters and Mining Equipment" economic unit; Brane Dimovski, manager of the preliminary production sector; Ljiljana Kovaceva, manager of the general legal department; and Petar Steriovski, manager of the economic organization.

While the workers demanded that the entire management should tender their resignation, some managers did not want to consider giving up their comfortable chairs.